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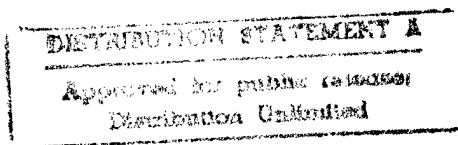
7 January 1983

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1350

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## INTERNATIONAL

### PENTAGON READIES SPECIAL UNITS AGAINST SOVIETS

Kiev SIL'SKI VISTI in Ukrainian 23, 26 Oct 82

[Article by K. Dmytruk, winner of the Republic Prize imeni Yaroslav Halan: "Forgotten Lessons. Anticommunism Behind the Scenes"]

[23 Oct 82 p 3]

[Excerpts] 1. In the Pentagon's Kitchen

Craving to achieve military superiority over the USSR and preparing for a new world war, the reactionary circles of the U.S. are stepping up their militaristic course. "Our interests," declared Clark, the U.S. President's assistant for national security, in July of this year, "are global in character, and they conflict with those of the Soviet Union.... Our strategy must be to utilize armed forces to achieve specific political aims and do so quickly under conditions favorable to the U.S. and our allies."

In order to seize a commanding position on a global scale, the imperialists are building up their arsenal of weapons of mass destruction and at the same time conducting active militaristic propaganda aimed, so to speak, at both the domestic and the foreign consumer. The purpose is to disorient public opinion, to deceive people and drag them into the vortex of the Pentagon's military preparations. This is attested by all the clamor about the so-called Rapid Deployment Force (RDF).

From morning to night, dozens of U.S. radio and television stations tiresomely advertise them--what the Pentagon's propaganda apparatus calls the "privileged" and "supermodern" troop units which are to carry out the nefarious strategy of America's "military presence" in any "vitally important" area of the world. In an interview with NEWSWEEK, RDF commander Lt Gen P. Kelly declared that his troops "must be prepared to respond to unforeseen troubles in any part of the globe." In other words, it is a matter of creating a punitive U.S. corps of "gendarmes" to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign countries, as in the case of San Salvador and Lebanon, for instance.

With the CIA, the Pentagon is also feverishly putting together new diversionary-terrorist troop units for special purposes (Special Forces), the so-called Green Berets. Ruling circles of the U.S. do not conceal that they are planning to use these gangster units primarily against the USSR and its allies.

In September of this year the U.S. created a separate "command of special military operations" incorporating special-purpose units of various kinds. The shock force of the new command will be the Green Berets. The U.S. government's directives state openly that "the special forces" are to be used to wage "guerilla war" against both the socialist-oriented countries and the socialist countries.

It is not surprising that one of the secret Special Forces units--the so-called 10th Group--is stationed in Bad Tolz, West Germany; its mission is to carry out diversions behind the lines in the USSR and other socialist countries. It is also not surprising that the group includes "Polish," "Hungarian," "Czech," "Russian," "Ukrainian," and other units charged with subversive missions, and their training is openly anti-Soviet in nature.

Aping the American propaganda machine, all manner of former White Guards and Vlasovites, Hungarian and Czechoslovak counterrevolutionaries, and Zionist hirelings have joined in on the disgraceful affair of "heroizing" war criminals and murderers. Nor have Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists refrained from taking part. Former Bandera cutthroats and survivors of the Nachtigall Battalion and the Galicia Division, which were created by the fascists, are proclaiming with all their might the "battle victories" of the imperialist troops, above all, generally, the officers and men who are the sons of the "leading figures" of the nationalist upper crust.

Carrying out the orders of their imperialist masters, the standard-bearers of the Yellow and Blue organized a blustering campaign to recruit young people of Ukrainian extraction into the U.S. Army and are calling upon them to "fight valiantly against communism." Over 2000 young Ukrainian-Americans have been recruited for the Green Berets alone, with the help of OUN [Association of Ukrainian Nationalists] traitors. Quite a few of them, fighting for a shameful alien cause, have been killed or crippled. Full blame for the grief and tears of their fathers and mothers goes to the American "hawks" and their OUN lackeys.

The military staffs of the U.S. and the other NATO countries are drawing up plans for new armed provocations and a "victorious prolonged nuclear war" with the Soviet Union. Cadres of spies and saboteurs are being trained to fight the USSR, the other socialist countries, and the revolutionary and national-liberation movement. The "special military operations command," which was created in September of this year, not only includes combat troops but is also organizing units for "psychological warfare" and "civil actions"--meaning, in the language of the Pentagon and the CIA, the preparation of counterrevolutionary actions and sabotage in the territory of the socialist countries.

[26 Oct 82 p 3]

[Excerpts] 2. In the Service of Overseas Masters

One cannot help but recall Hitler's brutal SS and SA units, the dreaded terror of the Nazi troops, the circumstances giving rise to the formation of the infamous Nachtigall, the bloody Bandera gangs, the Galicia SS Division, and other punitive-diversionary units created, trained, and armed by the Hitlerites.

The physical annihilation of their political enemies and whole peoples, the mass murder of peaceful populations, and horrible concentration camps--this was Hitler's "New Order" in action.

"We Will Not Forget, We Will Not Forgive!" These words of the Soviet people are addressed both to the fascist butchers and our nation's traitors, those who helped the Hitlerites establish their bloody occupation regime and who now, having found asylum in the West, are carrying out their dirty work in the kitchens of the espionage and propaganda services of the U.S. and NATO.

Inflaming militaristic passions and kindling the flames of a new war, the overseas nationalist camp has recently launched a real hullabaloo about "the necessity of deploying American nuclear rockets in Europe as quickly as possible" and "accelerated production" of neutron weapons; "the necessity of equipping the American army" with deadly chemical weapons, including paralyzing nerve gas. Nor did these mercenaries ignore the Pentagon's rapid deployment forces, extolling them as "extraordinarily mobile units for possible action in such politically vital areas as the Near East, the Persian Gulf, and Asia."

Thus we come full circle. The Pentagon's militarists and their evil course of preparation for a new war are today being extolled by those who, when they were in Hitler's service, sowed death and committed atrocities while members of punitive-diversionary units of the fascist army similar to the American Special Forces and RDF.

Armed with the experience of the Werwolf and the SS, and acquiring the Nazi inheritance in the form of all kinds of traitors, the imperialistic military intelligence services have created their own units in the form of Special Forces and the RDF.

How the gangster units created by the Hitlerites ended up is well known. Unfortunately, some people across the seas have forgotten that.

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## INTERNATIONAL

REAGAN POLICY ON 'INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM', THEORY OF TOTALITARIANISM LINKED

Minsk KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII in Russian No 8, Aug 82 pp 79-85

[Article by A. Baychorov, candidate of philosophy: "'International Terrorism' in the Strategy of Neocolonialism"]

[Excerpt] In his inauguration address the new U.S. President, R. Reagan, mentioned continuity of J. Carter's line in foreign policy and assumed the commitment to defend freedom and human rights worldwide. However, the first steps even of the new Washington Administration showed that it is mainly emphasizing "freedoms" and not "rights," meaning by freedom freedom of maneuver for American business and freedom to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries if, in Washington's opinion, the United States' "national interests" are endangered there. In a speech delivered in London President R. Reagan recently declared bluntly that reliable security is impossible without a reorganization of the world's socioeconomic systems in an American key. And on this pretext he announced a "crusade" against communism, against social progress in the world and against social revolutions, which are pilloried as "international terrorism".

An analysis of recent events in the "third world" shows that the strategy of neocolonialism in the 1980's is becoming more politically oriented and aimed precisely at the defense of the so-called "free world" and "Western democracy" and not at the formation in the emergent states of some abstract anti-ideological "single industrial" or "post-industrial" society. U.S. Vice President G. Bush said in one of his speeches: "... It is in our country's interests to assist the strengthening of political and economic institutions throughout the world which share our values concerning freedom, economic development, education, cultural exchange and human rights." That is, the political strategy of the new Washington Administration in respect of the developing countries in fact continues and in certain aspects strengthens even the policy of the most odious figure in J. Carter's administration--national security adviser Z. Brzezinski, who called for a character to be imparted to the "third world" which "corresponds to our interests and is in conformity with our values."

The concrete political strategy proposed by the conservative "think tanks," which supply ideas and concepts for the Washington Administration, and directed against the national liberation movement is a campaign against "international terrorism". The term "national liberation," A. Haig, who recently resigned as U.S. secretary

of state, declared, speaking on 13 September 1981 in West Berlin, "has been used to justify international terrorism and violence." "International terrorism," R. Rosenstock, U.S. representative in the UN General Assembly's Third Committee, asserted, "represents an attack on civilization as such, and combating terrorism is a task for the whole world community." For the U.S. representative the framework of civilization as such evidently does not go beyond the confines of capitalist civilization (the "free world") for Washington authorities see as the principal instigators and patrons of international terrorism Cuba, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Libya and, of course, the USSR and other socialist countries.

The fact that "international terrorism," like also "human rights," does not in itself have a political or ideological coloring proved very convenient for the guiding spirits of neocolonialist strategy. That is, in principle the "fighter" himself (the subject of neocolonialism) may define what should and what should not be called "international terrorism". Employing the "selective morality" and dual system of judgments tested earlier, the Washington Administration has begun to plot on the "international terrorism" chart all acts of the national liberation movements and also the actions of the socialist and nonaligned countries in support of them. The actions of neo-Nazis and reactionary dictators, on the other hand, with the rare exception, do not appear on this chart for, as it transpires, they correspond to the "national" or, in another interpretation, "vitally important" interests of the United States.

It should be noted that such an approach is original only in the scale of its application. Essentially it has long been used by colonialist forces and the racist regime of South Africa to characterize the actions of the national liberation movement. What is new that the Washington Administration has introduced to the interpretation of the "terrorism" concept in this case is the fact that special emphasis has been put on the word "international" and that attempts have been made to declare the socialist countries the deep-lying source of this "international terrorism".

The concept of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes developed in the United States by [K. Fridrikh], H. Arendt, [Dzh. Talmon], N. Glazer and others has become the theoretical substantiation of the "combating international terrorism" campaign. In accordance with this concept, only a few free democratic states exist in the world (these are, of course, the United States and its Western allies). The majority of countries, on the other hand, are authoritarian or totalitarian, that is, based on dictatorship of the state (or individual) and a disregard for human rights. At the same time bourgeois political scientists discern two main interconnected differences between authoritarian and totalitarian countries. Under a totalitarian regime there are allegedly no individual independent sources of power at all--no strong church, no independent ethnic communities, no independent business enterprises, no free workers' movement, no independent voluntary organizations or institutions--and all social structures are organized under the government's aegis. Under an authoritarian regime all or some of the above-listed sources of power allegedly exist. The second difference, which ensues from the first, is that allegedly owing to the existence of some independent sources of power, an authoritarian regime could evolve or be transformed into a democratic regime (which could under no circumstances occur with a totalitarian regime). The revolutionary events occurring in the

"third world" are viewed within the framework of this concept and as attempts to replace authoritarian domination by totalitarian domination.

Marxist scholars expose the avowedly class-apologetic nature of this theory. Even many influential political scientists of the United States consider this concept groundless. "I find the division between totalitarian and authoritarian regimes," R. Falk, professor of international law at Princeton, "too ideological in nature and insufficiently correlated with the type of regime. This abstract correlation has been reinforced by the Reagan administration's pharisaical, dishonest position on the human rights issue ... and it undermines respect for the rules of noninterference, which are most likely the most basic principles at the basis of the existence of sovereign states." N. Chomsky, professor at MIT, expressed himself even more definitely, declaring that the "authoritarian nature" and "totalitarian nature" concept is merely an attempt to provide a fig leaf for the traditional policy of support for regimes which offer their human and material resources for foreign exploitation and plunder, as distinct from regimes which are less 'free' in this decisive respect."

The political interpretation of this concept by the new Republican administration of the United States is not distinguished by originality. Recognizing that the totalitarian system is worse than the authoritarian system, the creators of Washington's foreign policy have shown their preference for the lesser of the two evils. The reactionary regimes of Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, Pakistan, El Salvador, South Africa and so forth are for the United States among the friendly "third world" countries, while the developing countries which have established wide-ranging relations with the socialist system have been isolated or are among those which need to be "rescued" from the domination of the "ideology of a closed totalitarian society". The national liberation movement, which allegedly contemplates replacing authoritarianism with totalitarianism, is subject to extirpation in the course of the struggle against "international terrorism".

Thus, as in the case of the hypocritical campaign in defense of "human rights" also, the campaign for combating "international terrorism" pursues perfectly definite class goals. It is aimed at riding the wave of rising discontent with the international terrorism which does in fact exist and camouflaging the objective fact that at the basis of the growth of terrorism lie the political interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the laws of capitalist business, which is prepared to earn superprofits at any price.

The main historical factor contributing to the growth of terrorism in the modern world is that capitalism as a social system has forfeited its historical justification and that ever increasing numbers of people are not supporting it. This is why the ruling circles of the Western countries can no longer entirely rely on bourgeois-democratic institutions and procedures, but are resorting increasingly often to terrorist acts aimed at counteracting the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle of the peoples on all continents. All means, including even the use of arms, economic blockades, psychological pressure, intimidation and blackmail, are being put to use.

Modern history shows as clearly as could be who precisely is the inspiration and organizer of "international terrorism". It is sufficient to recall Britain's

colonial action in the South Atlantic and the devastation and genocide being perpetrated by Israel with the support and direct complicity of the United States on long-suffering Lebanese soil. The same methods which U.S. imperialism uses to suppress the national liberation movement--the use of arms instead of negotiations, territorial seizures, the preaching of racist ideas and the incitement of hatred and suspicion--can be traced in all these actions.

The dictators of El Salvador, Chile, Haiti, South Korea, Paraguay and other regimes like them would not be able to retain power without the support of the capitalist powers. The Afghan counterrevolutionaries, the Lebanese separatists, the UNITA grouping in Angola and so forth would not be able to engage in terrorist activity without their assistance. In October 1981 Sudanese President G. Nimeiri declared to an ABC correspondent that he intended to wage a "terrorist war" against Libya. And in the wake of this a White House representative reported that supplementary to the arms already supplied to Sudan the United States intended in the current fiscal year to assign the Nimeiri regime an additional \$200 million plus as military-economic assistance.

The establishment of a military dictatorship in Liberia in April 1980 and the terror and repression which have been incessant since then not only have not stopped but considerably increased the United States' penetration of this country. Thus the United States' annual "aid" to the government of this country was recently increased from \$8 million to \$68.3 million. U.S. "special forces" (known from Vietnam as "green berets"), which came to Liberia in the spring of 1981 to train the Liberian army and for joint maneuvers, have stepped on African soil for the first time.

Analyzing the activity of terrorist dictatorships in the developing countries, the London magazine SOUTH concludes that "the most repressive regimes of the third world are most often regimes with the maximum ideological proximity to the West. The ruling groups which run them are usually simply a physical continuation of Western interests."

The special training of hundreds of terrorists employed in destabilizing popular political regimes is carried out on the territory of the Western states and at their military bases abroad. Representatives of the American authorities themselves who studied this question (Congressmen D. Bonior and T. Harkin) were forced to acknowledge that the activity of former guardsmen of A. Somoza against Nicaragua's Sandinista government who have taken refuge in the United States is the most out-and-out terror and is inflaming the atmosphere in Central American even more.

In April 1981 official representatives of Mozambique reported at a press conference in Maputo that U.S. CIA agents were planning the assassination of Samora Machel, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and other of the country's leaders. In June 1981 the Zambian Government invited two American diplomats to leave the country within 48 hours, and a further three were prohibited from returning to the country. This decision was made following the discovery of an antigovernment conspiracy prepared by the CIA and South Africa's special services. The plotters contemplated the assassination of Zambian Premier Kenneth Kaunda, the Zambian police chief, the commander of the army and a number

of senior officers of the security service. In September 1981 the Indian police discovered a plot aimed at the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The arrested conspirators confessed that they were activists of the Ananda marg reactionary terrorist organization, which has branches in the United States, the FRG, Britain and other Western countries. In 1975 members of this organization murdered prominent Indian public figure and member of the government, L.N. Mishra. On the scorecard of the Ananda marg, which is closely linked with the CIA, are attempts against the life of representatives of the Indian authorities and murders of workers at India's diplomatic missions abroad. The above examples represent merely the tip of the iceberg of the international subversive activity unleashed by the imperialist states in the "third world".

Addressing the UN General Assembly 36th Session in New York, A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, made a fundamental evaluation of the place of the "combating international terrorism" campaign in the general neocolonialist strategy of state-monopoly capitalism. "Recently," he said, "virtually a crusade has been announced in the United States against 'international terrorism,' sometimes one country, sometimes another being accused of this. But these accusations have the wrong address. They are fraudulent through and through. Terrorism is not being sought where it should be and where it actually is. The calculation here is simple--pin the label of terrorism on the peoples' struggle against colonialism and its vestiges. In other words, the oppressor policy which has been cursed by the peoples and whose basis is a reluctance to come to terms with the peoples' right to order their internal affairs at their own discretion and nonacceptance of the social changes occurring in the world is being passed off as combating terrorism."

It should be said that a realization of the true role of the "antiterrorist" campaign which has been unleashed in the West is gradually growing among the leaders of "third world" countries and the leaders of and participants in national liberation movements. "The first months of the Reagan administration in the United States," an editorial article of the official press organ of the South African ANC, for example, says, "have accelerated the change toward an extraordinarily dangerous political climate in international relations. We are witnessing not only a stream of cold war propaganda but also daily attempts to destroy the national liberation movement and its gains. The repeated warnings of the danger of what they call 'international terrorism' conceal a comprehensive program aimed at restoring lost positions for the forces of reaction."

In recent years China's Maoist leadership has been acting increasingly often as the accomplice of imperialism's neocolonialist strategy. Relying on the overseas Chinese communities, which exist in almost all countries, the PRC Government is implementing by means of terror a hegemonist policy aimed at capturing others' territory, removing political leaders which do not suit it and destabilizing political regimes which Beijing finds unsuitable.

State-monopoly capitalism and the transnational corporations are pursuing in the "third world" a composite policy combining both goals of an offensive nature in the formation of capitalist production relationships, the bourgeois

way of life and political dependence on the West and also defensive goals connected with undermining national liberation movements and the influence of the socialist countries on the developing society. To achieve both their defensive and offensive goals imperialist circles are using the developed system of methods of neocolonialist expansion. An analysis shows that the "combating international terrorism" campaign viewed in this context has nothing in common with defending people's life and dignity but has been put entirely at the service of the interests of monopoly capital and represents yet another attempt to hold back the development of the world revolutionary process.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### GEORGIAN GENERAL DISCUSSES NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE, 'COLD WAR', DISARMAMENT

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24 Nov 82

[Dialog between Lt Gen. Irakli Ivanovich Dzhordzhadze and Vladimir Osinskiy: "Apocalypse: Fantasy or Reality? A Dialog Between a Scholar-General and a Science Fiction Writer"]

[Text] "The nations need to know the truth about the fatal consequences a nuclear war would lead mankind to."  
(From materials of the 26th CPSU Congress)

[17 Oct 82 p 4]

[Text] What is it that most unites humanity in our days? What is it that, regardless of profession or social status, represents men's chief common concern and orients all the strength of their hearts and minds toward a single, highest goal?

The answer is unequivocal: It is great alarm for the fate of peace and the future of the world, the urge to put an end to the threat of nuclear conflict that faces mankind. This alarm and this concern now infuse the lives of every honorable and normal human being, whoever he is and whatever endeavors he pursues....

We offer our readers a dialog between representatives of what might at first glance seem completely different fields of creative activity: On the one hand, a scientist specializing in mathematical problems of control and a well-known scholar of military history; on the other, a fantasy writer.

Lt Gen Irakli Ivanovich Dzhordzhadze, a professor, doctor of military science, and distinguished scientist of the RSFSR, was in 1979 elected academician of the GSSR Academy of Sciences in the specialty of control processes in automated systems. He has written more than 100 works--in 1981-1982 alone he published in Georgian and Russian such works as "The World Cold Wars of Imperialism and the

Military Impregnability of the Socialist Camp," "The Inevitability of Wars--Or the Inevitability of the Ending of Wars?", "The Laws and Natural Laws Governing the Administration of Social Production," and "Control Processes in Automated Systems." Some 66 of Irakli Dzhordzhadze's scientific works have been published separately.

As in the case of most Soviet authors working in the science fiction genre, the problem of averting a global catastrophe is a key theme in the work of Vladimir Osinskiy, a fantasy writer who lives and works in Tbilisi. It is no accident that his book has been translated into Japanese, the language of the people who were the first--and fortunately, so far, the only--people to experience the horrors of the atomic bomb....

WRITER: My dear Irakli, we are probably rightly gratified to note that mankind has, finally, come to understand the horrible consequences of a possible nuclear conflict. Never in history has the antiwar movement been so colossal in scale. Nevertheless, you once said something like this: "Much progress has been made in the struggle against nuclear catastrophe, by means of propaganda explaining its nature. But..." What do you mean, "but...?"

GENERAL: Well, what does "understand" mean? One may be able to grasp in theory the danger of a particular event but be unable to imagine its concrete nature, in particular, the convoluted, hidden paths of preparations for a nuclear catastrophe. People understand, of course--by this I mean what are known as ordinary people, going about their business, working, involved in their daily concern--the significance of at least a "conventional" atomic explosion; the examples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are sufficient for that. But who can live day and night thinking constantly of death as such, total death...? All of us, of course, instinctively detach ourselves from the idea, banish it from our consciousness. In particular we try not to think about the concrete--I repeat, the concrete--consequences of a nuclear conflict if it should ever occur. Most of the earth's inhabitants, moreover, do not and cannot know a great deal that the specialist is aware of. Yet unconcern and complacency are very dangerous. Mankind cannot afford to get used to the idea that global catastrophe is "ruled out," that it is "impossible," that "they won't let it happen." Unconcern and complacency only serve the cause of militarism. This is why Western propaganda so assiduously and skillfully spreads fables about "local nuclear wars" and "clean" nuclear bombs that "selectively" destroy only military units and objects.

WRITER: But if we go with the well-known statement "The history of mankind is a history of wars," we can say that it is at the same time also a history of struggle against wars, a history of antiwar movements. Recall, for example, Lysistrata, the woman celebrated by Aristophanes in the 4th century BC. She called upon women not to bear warriors so as to achieve lasting peace....



Perhaps it is naive, something that makes us smile in our days, yet it does convincingly testify that revulsion against war is an inseparable trait of man's nature.

GENERAL: I won't dispute it. In addition to Aristophanes and Lysistrata there is the Old Testament, ancient Greek mythology, the Scandinavian eddas, and the ancient Chinese treatise "Li Tzu," which are extremely interesting statements on war and peace in the form of a dream of a Golden Age free of bloodshed. Let us also recall Rabelais, More, Montaigne, Erasmus of Rotterdam, later on Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, Rousseau and, finally, our own Chernyshevskiy, who predicted with fervent conviction that not only wars but even the possibility of starting wars would be abolished....

But the fact remains that mankind has suffered 15,000 wars in the course of 44 centuries.

WRITER: These are indeed sobering figures ... and saddening, too. But 44 centuries is an enormous span of time; we can hardly even imagine it. In that period of time civilization has made gigantic leaps. Such progress cannot be without consequence. By this I mean, the number of military conflicts has declined.

GENERAL: In its 80 years of existence, imperialism has launched two world wars and more than 650 local ones, in which 106 million people perished.

WRITER: The most destructive war in our planet's history--World War Two--provided a profound lesson. Such lessons do not go for naught.

GENERAL: As we know, it was followed by the so-called "Cold War...." At the same time, imperialism provoked local wars and armed conflict along with the "Cold War" (if one can properly speak of such). In 35 years' time there have been almost 480 such conflicts, with 31 million victims.... But even these horrifying figures pale beside those we would get as the result of a nuclear war, if one were to break out. The very first nuclear strikes would result in the death of 700 million people (even the Americans come up with this calculation), and of this figure, only 3 million would be military--the rest would be people having nothing directly to do with the war or combat activities, including, of course, women, children, and old people. To put it another way, it would mean indiscriminate destruction of the civilian population. In general, anyway, I don't consider "nuclear war" a correct term, because....

WRITER: Please excuse me for interrupting, my dear Irakli, but I'd like to get one thing clear. Are we talking about the nature of nuclear conflict that is unknown to us who are "not specialists?"

GENERAL: Yes, although it might appear that there is nothing very complicated about it.... On the contrary, unfortunately, everything is crystal clear. So-called conventional war, in its historical sense, aims in addition to its other basic functions at destroying the enemy's armed forces and thereby achieving economic, political, and other purposes. In a global

nuclear catastrophe, however, there is no longer any meaning to such concepts as "battle field," "combat zone," "front," "army," "victory," or "defeat." The use of nuclear weapons would inevitably destroy mankind and all life on earth. The term "war " has been replaced by quite a new concept--"catastrophe." So many weapons have been stockpiled on earth that it no longer makes sense to speak of "balance of power" or "military parity." However paradoxical it may sound, nuclear catastrophe is matched by ... nuclear catastrophe. Hence, we can only speak of "catastrophic parity." Isn't that an absurd formulation! At the present pace of the scientific-technical revolution (in the case of sectors serving military purposes), new generations of nuclear missile weaponry are coming into being at a dangerous rate and, more important, on an increasingly larger scale. Moreover, because the technology of manufacturing nuclear weapons is becoming increasingly easier and cheaper, in the near future they can be acquired not only by the different states but even by individual groups like the Mafia and individual multimillionaires.... An analysis of numerous studies and scientific mathematical calculations shows that in the next 10 to 13 years, new generations of nuclear missiles will be developed so rapidly that the crisis situation in the world could get out of control, and catastrophe would truly be unavoidable--a catastrophe compared to which the idea of the Apocalypse would look like a child's toy. Lest you think these are just idle words, let me remind you that in the 35 years since World War Two the United States has spent a trillion dollars for military purposes, and is contemplating spending more than 2 trillion dollars over the five-year period starting in 1980. And let us not forget that the technical sophistication of armaments has been increased immeasurably. Such are the fruits of the Second "Cold" War (I would call it "Imperialism's Second Cold War") begun in 1980 by Carter and Thatcher and now assiduously whipped up by the present American administration, Israel's Zionists, and the other satellites of the American military-industrial complex.

WRITER: This question--I think a justified one--occurs to me: How about them, those whose actions and policies are fostering increased international tension and leading the world to the brink of catastrophe--don't they want to live? After all, the leaders of the imperialist countries--above all Reagan--must surely be perfectly aware of the figures you have cited, and they cannot fail to imagine the horrible consequences of a global nuclear conflict. Please excuse my naive question, but why don't they stop it?

GENERAL: They cannot, nor do they want to. The main factor here is the huge profit which the arms race brings to "the powers that be." The \$2 trillion mentioned above--a billion dollars every day--go to fatten the pockets of the financial oligarchs of the United States, and they're not even content with that. The United States is skillfully and relentlessly "skinning" its bloc partners, the nations which are dependent on it both politically and economically. You may find this strange and perhaps out of place, but I'd like to tell you about one case. Once while on a business trip to the U.S. I decided to have a suit made. I was told, "Mr Dzhordzhadze, if you're not in a hurry and don't mind waiting, you can get a suit five times cheaper than regular." I did have the time. My suit was flawless, and it really did cost five times less. Here's how it happened: The suit was ordered in San

Francisco but tailored ... in Singapore; the company pays the workers of that "friendly" country 10 times less than American workers.

I think this incident speaks volumes. Essentially, the United States is robbing its satellites in exactly the same way when it imposes its militaristic policies on them and makes fabulous profits by selling arms to them. The age of crude, one might say vulgar colonialism, when they seized other people's territories and used the aborigines as slaves (in the real sense of that word), is now a thing of the past. Slavery does, in fact, persist, but it has taken new and more "refined" and repulsive forms than in the era of piracy and the trade in human chattel. Imperialism lives on wars and military psychosis. Such is the historically conditioned link. Today's warmongers constitute a well-organized world of criminals in which the functions of each link are precisely coordinated. And this gang (there's no other way to describe them) is robbing dependent nations legally, on the basis of state legality, by means of the fabulously inflated military budgets imposed on them. The heart of these imperialistic policies is the fanning of a military psychosis, the entrenchment of a world crisis situation verging on catastrophe. The United States became fabulously wealthy as a result of World War One and even more in World War Two. Now, as the head of things, it demands an arms race and exacts tribute from the other capitalist countries. The American imperialists and their henchmen, inculcating the ideas of militarism, are rolling in money. There is incontrovertible proof that Sadat sold his people to Israeli Zionism for \$13 million. At the end of his despicable career he had \$330 million and 20 luxurious villas--the loot from one of history's worst military and political betrayals.

But even Sadat's case is nothing compared to the fantastic super-profits being taken from overblown military budgets not only by the political and military leaders of the biggest imperialist states but also the representatives of their administrations. The military-industrial complex is a form of legalized robbery of the workers not only of the satellite countries but of its own as well. The history of wars shows that exploitative formations have always lived off wars and enriched themselves thereby. It has been this way ever since that remote age when the buying and selling of slaves was considered an honorable profession. And it is so to this day, when the arms race contributes to the military-industrial complex amounts of income that must be figured not in the hundreds of millions but in the billions of dollars. This is why all of imperialism's strivings are naturally and logically oriented toward war, in particular nuclear war. This is why the imperialists insist on the inevitability of war, for war is their nutrient medium, without which they cannot exist.

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WRITER: Recently these figures were cited in the press: According to UN data, humanity spends \$650 billion yearly on armaments--\$1 million every minute. Meanwhile, half a billion of earth's inhabitants are starving, 40 percent of our planet's population lacks medical care, and 800 million people are illiterate. Wouldn't it be good if all these vast funds were spent for man's well-being?

GENERAL: It's no use. By this I mean that in the reality of capitalism this is an unrealistic dream. The power of the military-industrial complex is too great. In the U.S., for example, the President himself is powerless before it. Remember Kennedy: When the military-financial oligarchy no longer had any doubts about his political course, they killed him. Remember Nixon: As soon as he took positive steps toward detente and reduced confrontation, they destroyed him politically.

In our socialist society, on the other hand, those are not empty words. Two years ago, CPSU Central Committee Politburo Candidate Member and GCP Central Committee First Secretary E. A. Shevardnadze met with a group of American senators. In conversation with them he declared most convincingly, citing actual figures, "Give us the chance to reduce arms spending, and we will immediately spend all the resources thus saved on the people's well-being, on health care, housing, construction, education, and other needs." Comrade Shevardnadze adduced such solid proof that one of the senators, an author of a bill not to grant the Soviet Union most favored nation status in trade with the U.S. (in which the White House tried once more to apply hostile economic sanctions against us), declared: "I'm convinced of your country's peaceful intentions and the values of its social structure, and I hereby repudiate my own bill."

The main point here is not just the convincing proof and arguments. The point is that socialism really does not need wars. While war makes billions and trillions of dollars for the imperialist military-industrial complex, the arms race is a heavy burden on the peoples of the socialist countries. The reason is easy to explain. We do not exploit other peoples and countries--that is incompatible with the nature of our social structure. Consequently, every ruble we are forced to invest in the military industry is taken away from production spheres that serve the people. That's all there is to it. The arms race does nothing but damage to our economy. That is why we in the socialist camp are fighting for peace along with the rest of progressive mankind.

When V. I. Lenin sent a Soviet delegation to the International Peace Congress at The Hague in 1922, he saw them off with these words: "We are not giving the masses any vivid idea of how war can come and is coming.... We must explain to the people the actual situation, the magnitude of the secrecy in which war originates." Aggressors of every stripe in every era have tried to conceal from humanity their responsibility for and involvement in the launching of a particular military conflict. But history has always unmasked them. It is especially difficult today, practically impossible, to hide the fact of preparations for a global nuclear catastrophe. Today, the traditional techniques of such concealment don't work any more. To hide from the world's peoples the secret preparations for war, to deceive the masses, imperialism has been forced to arm itself with a whole arsenal of scientific techniques of various kinds. Thus, the Science of Lies has been born--the science of the Big Lie in state, political, and strategic plans. Even in mathematics, the endeavors of Neumann and Morgenstern have brought forth what is known as "Bluff Theory," which is extensively used in politics and strategy. America's Dr. Kahn and his "Brain Trust" have flooded the earth with

intricate theories and dozens of designations of nuclear and conventional wars in order ultimately to foist on humanity totally unbelievable "local wars" that do not exist in the nature of society, while the idea of a "conventional" World War Three remains intact and the sphere of world militarization has expanded beyond all limits.

In general, the Science of Lies created in the United States subsumes three main thrusts in concealing the secret launching of a nuclear Apocalypse.

First and foremost: Use any tricks to distort the historical truth about the origin of war. Churchill and Truman, who first launched the World Cold War, failed to deceive the world's people about the "aggressive nature of communism" using their crude Goebbels Lie techniques, and their primitive tricks caused their plans to collapse. Today, imperialism is making active use of the above-mentioned Science of Lies, based on materials of a quarter-century of slandering Soviet reality--materials which, of course, are false. They refer to our society as "totalitarian communism." Totalitarianism, as we know, has always implied the aggressive policies of a fascist regime.... And now, the "Brain Trusts" of the imperialist states (and political and military figures at their bidding) are starting not with war as such but with "totalitarian communism," in which they diligently seek the roots of a "Red Threat." In this way, the Big Lie created by the Science of Lies has made certain Western politicians so arrogant that they publicly call for a "Crusade" against communism.

The second main thrust of the Big Lie is military-strategic. Its aim is to foist on the world fictitious "local nuclear wars" and an outmoded "conventional" world war using the appropriate arsenals of new weapons.

The third thrust is the moral and psychological corruption of nations, particularly their young people.

WRITER: I believe I have heard and read a bit about Herman Kahn and about his multiple designations of wars, in particular limited nuclear wars. Everyone knows, of course, that this latter concept is just another militaristic bluff, but it didn't, after all, come from nothing. To my knowledge, Kahn has the reputation of a serious scientist in the West...

GENERAL: Herman Kahn is a malicious and at the same time pitiful figure. But he has had more influence on the West's political and military thinking than any other war theoretician in recent decades. As for being pitiful, I mean Kahn's "theory" that is the basis of the Science of Lies, shifting the blame for secret nuclear war preparations from the United States to the Soviet Union.

H. Kahn's first work, "On Nuclear War," came out back in 1960. The American military commentator Arthur Herzog said of it: "This book has become a kind of Gospel for the leaders of the Pentagon." Quite well put, don't you think? Six years later this "civilian strategist" (as the West German SPIEGEL called him) published another book, "Escalation--Politics of Destructive Spiral." Shortly before it came out, Kahn held a seminar in Hamburg for Bundeswehr

generals, West German officials, and Bundestag deputies. The theme: "Strategy in a Nuclear Age." It is significant that even die-hard revanchists were startled by the reasoning of this theoretician of nuclear war, and called some of his theses out-and-out provocation--for example, these:

--in certain particular combat situations, the use of nuclear weapons may be justified;

--nuclear war is a kind of sports contest in which by established rules, the scale of use of nuclear weapons is increased in each succeeding round;

--the millions of people afflicted by radiation from a nuclear attack would be no greater a burden for the American nation than automobile accidents are today;

--after a nuclear war, "the survivors will not envy the dead."

Is there any need to spell out these cannibalistic--and more important, provocative--utterances? Herman Kahn is now 60 years old. He was born to a poor Jewish immigrant family near New York. At the age of 18 he began to study the natural sciences, economics, and sociology. He supported himself by working on ships and in stores, all the while reading books on fantasy.... As you see, fantasy doesn't always benefit people. Do you recognize the name Robert Heinlein? He's Kahn's favorite author.

WRITER: I'm not really familiar with Heinlein, but what I've read makes a good impression. He's a master of his craft, and his world views are not objectionable. He is an optimist; as an intellectual and an artist, apocalyptic themes and misanthropic ideas are alien to him....

GENERAL: Very well, let's agree that every man sees facts, objects, events, and art in his own way.... But let's get back to Kahn. He later worked as a mathematician for the Rand Corporation--America's first and biggest "think tank." Then he formed his own "think tank," the Hudson Institute, and became its director. What kind of institutions are these? SPIEGEL had this to say: "The rapid growth of this industry can only be compared to the current boom in space technology." The term "think tank" itself, of course, doesn't sound bad. It's something else that's wrong. Namely, the U.S. Air Force and the Army each have four "think tanks," and the Navy has two more. These "scientific institutions" serve the cause of war and its justification. The following facts will illustrate Kahn's position: After the first American hydrogen bomb on 1 November 1952 blasted the Pacific island of Elugelab off the face of the earth and inflicted on humanity the horror of a nuclear mushroom 40 kilometers high, Kahn said something like this: "Mankind has been mentally stunned." When 18 Nobel Prize winners declared in 1955 that if the nations didn't renounce the use of force humanity would cease to exist, our "Professor of Nuclear War" explained their declaration even more cynically: "People have simply stopped thinking." On a wall in the Hudson Institute hangs this sign: "If You Want Peace, Learn War." This motto, which comes from British military writer Liddell Hart (Guderian's mentor, incidentally), who reworded the well-known Latin saying "If You Want Peace, Prepare

for War," is the prime guiding principle for Kahn and his colleagues. He believes that if a nuclear duel is inconceivable, it is all the more necessary to study it carefully. He writes: "We must explore ways to reduce the destruction of a future nuclear war to the minimum!" Thus, Kahn has admitted --and with cold ruthlessness--that the use of nuclear weapons (under "certain conditions") is justified. He has gone even further, creating the theory of "controlled state conflicts" which represents a future war metaphorically as a ladder on which the war is escalated gradually, step by step.... This attempt to place so-called "conventional" wars of the past and nuclear war on an "equal footing" (as far as I'm concerned, I insist that the term "nuclear catastrophe" is the only correct one) embodies the biggest danger in Kahn's theoretical endeavors. In our nuclear age it makes no sense to speak of "gradation," of alternating the threat of force with the use of force, as in the previous 44 centuries. It is not surprising that the American weekly NATION, which called Kahn's model of war escalation "Herman's Ladder," had this to say: "Its steps are leading us up to a point where even its inventor can see his own end." I have gone into such detail about Kahn and his theory because even today he asserts that "we will start a war ourselves," yet his views eloquently characterize imperialist lies (in all Kahn's works, of course, the Soviet Union starts a future war!) and the sophistication with which imperialism attempts to inspire the earth's inhabitants with the idea that a limited nuclear conflict is possible. It is a completely unfounded, absurd, and very dangerous notion.... It was almost a quarter-century ago that I completed my anti-Kahn-oriented work. On the basis of calculated data and in scientifically substantiated fashion, my work rejected Kahn's 13 types of nuclear war and showed that there is no such thing as a nuclear war, but only nuclear catastrophe. As for such a catastrophe (World War Two included one, by the way), however it manifests itself, just one is enough to destroy life on earth. There are no such things as these cockamamie "nuclear wars," for any mass application of nuclear power would totally destroy the planet's environment for any kind of life. Consequently, any purpose a war might have disappears, and in conditions of such purposelessness the very concept of war disappears, vanishes. In my book I proposed that, in order to call Kahn's bluff in the eyes of the world, we should not allow in the arms race the creation of specialized technology for fictitious "local" nuclear wars, the creation of atomic artillery, neutron or cobalt devices, and their carriers, which are ruining people economically. The fact is that for the past 25 years this global deception has vastly enlarged the base of the world's militarization, costing mankind hundreds of billions of dollars.

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WRITER: You are probably right: Kahn is a malicious figure, that's all you can call him....

GENERAL: Here's another of his "ideas": Build a "doomsday machine" which will make it impossible to retreat in the event that the nations' leaders show weakness and start to seek compromise. The purpose of the machine would be to automatically turn our planet into dead wasteland in the event that an aggressor approached. At the time, people said of Kahn: "He's not human,

he's a monster." The SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN's reviewer asked this question: "Is there such a thing as a Herman Kahn?" There is, unfortunately, and he is not alone. Kahn is echoed by the Kissingers, the Brzezinskis, the Schlesingers, the Haigs, and other nuclear maniacs.

WRITER: You mentioned that it was science fiction that shaped Kahn's analytical thinking. Fortunately, most works in this genre reflect a clear antiwar orientation. It is of little importance, of course, whether the writer is warning us about the extreme danger posed by the very idea of armed conflict in our time, as Ray Bradbury does; whether he imparts to the reader a sense of revulsion against war and everything connected with it, as the Japanese writer Sakio Komatsu does; or whether he calls on humanity to fight actively for peace (the main theme in Soviet science fiction). The main thing today, in my opinion, is how clearly and eloquently resounds the "Down With War!" that is sensed in everything you, as a scientist and military historian, have written.... In this connection, dear Irakli, what do you think about all these notorious "horror movies" in which supermen from earth fight off alien monsters from other planets, or space ships engage in vast wars before our very eyes, and so on and so on.... Even though they are cinematic and literary trash, cheap spectacles and low-grade reading matter, in the long run don't such "works" perform the function we want--making the reader or viewer hate war, even though in a primitive manner, and fighting the militaristic psychosis?

GENERAL: Don't you believe it! Quite the contrary, in fact. Imperialism is waging its World Cold War in all possible forms at the same time. What we have here is a situation verging on nuclear catastrophe which threatens all life on our planet, created by the United States and whipped up continually; a global system of local wars--such as, for example, the Great Britain-Argentina conflict and Israel's occupation of Lebanon; an arms race one of whose aims is to deplete the economy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; blackmail by means of "local nuclear wars" alien to society's nature; and the subversive activities of "fifth columns...." Finally, one of the most dangerous varieties of imperialism's World Cold War is the war of ideological provocation. It is from this standpoint that I view "horror movies." I have said that far from serving the cause of peace, they accomplish the opposite: They substitute the fantasy of lies, bluff, intimidation, and disinformation for honest fantasy.

This extremely popular literary genre in the West is turning out to be more and more the ideological weapon of the apologists for war and the arms race. It is no accident that many science fiction works--books, movies, and plays--depict nuclear war as conventional war, in which traditional kinds of weapons are used. The purpose is clear: To confuse the masses, blunt their vigilance, and thus weaken the antiwar movement. Furthermore, the imperialist world, from Reagan and his threescore wizards on the one hand to Hollywood on the other (for Hollywood has turned away from movie entertainment to military-political and political fantasy films), is doing everything it can to make people think that there is no way out of the situation and that our whole planet faces "unavoidable" catastrophe. Physical death is not the only kind--there is also man's moral, spiritual death.... The moral death of



millions, one can state literally and without exaggeration, is a weapon of mass destruction, and I would be hard put to answer the question as to which is more frightening, a nuclear attack or the destruction of man's soul (in our Marxist-Leninist sense of that lofty and beautiful concept).

In its attempt to enslave the minds of the masses and suppress their ability to struggle and resist, imperialism resorts to the tried and true weapon of intimidation--the "Soviet threat," of course, which always starts with "totalitarian communism." All the theoretical postulates of Kahn and his eager explicators today are based on scenes of the Soviet Union starting a war against the U.S., painted by the sick mind of this "civilian strategist." Dutifully executing the social commands of the monopolies, for whom disinformation on a global scale is a vital necessity, Hollywood has flooded the movie markets with films which do everything possible to belittle the historic mission of the Soviet Army and the Soviet people, whose great heroism was manifested in the struggle against Hitler's hordes. "The Longest Day," "Battle of the Bulge," "The Bridge at Remagen," "Patton," and "The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming..."--these are a few of the tens and hundreds of films which viciously distort history and our peace-loving policies. It's disgraceful! The Americans filled 106 volumes with self-serving accounts of their own part in World War II. Hah! You could fit their whole play-war in one notebook.

The forces of reaction, whose aim is to prevent the mass millions of working people from struggling for peace and avoiding a nuclear catastrophe, stop at nothing in order to transform people into a flock of frightened, philistinish, apathetic sheep, people who are caught up in the details of their daily affairs, just trying to "get through the day." The Italian publicist Cecchini has noted sadly: "Gradually, they're turning us into Pavlov's dogs." Movie making, television, literature, radio, the press, show business--the core of their endeavors is a scientifically worked-out system of "brainwashing." Imperialism is trying to apply the techniques it uses to stupefy the working masses in its own country to everybody in the world. War on land, in the air, on the seas, and in the "fourth dimension"--a clever psychological war, a war of ideas. And imperialism is conducting this struggle "in the fourth dimension" in an increasingly blatant manner. Thirty years ago, Dulles admitted that "the Soviet Union is succeeding more and more in the ideological contest, where its technology is as superior to ours as a cannon is the bow and arrow." Today, the apologists for anticommunism are afraid of an honest duel with us in the clash of ideas; fearing open debate, they resort to techniques of ideological sabotage--clear proof of the weakness of their position.

But it would be a grave mistake to ignore the danger of imperialist propaganda, to behave toward our adversaries in the war of ideas as if they were a trifle to be easily dismissed. The enemy is sly, clever, and shrewd; his crude "stone-age" anticommunism has been replaced by so-called "scientific anticommunism," which has been crossbred with the Science of Lies. This kind is much harder to combat. It is seemingly objective, superficially impartial, and respectable, and is intended for the intellectual elite, the intelligent-sia. It no longer resorts to primitive tactics--"the Reds" are no longer

portrayed as stereotypically treacherous, doltish, and aggressive. Today's apologists of anticommunism, striving to erode public opinion, are creating thoroughly well-thought-out theories hostile to socialism to apply to "totalitarian communism." The purpose is the same: To blunt the people's vigilance, blind their historical perspective, keep them out of the class struggle, intimidate them, and corrupt them spiritually. For the ideologues of the West, young people are an especially "tasty morsel," for their views are not fully formed, their minds have not been tempered, and their perception of the world is not yet mature. The ideologues use any and all techniques--propagandizing the cult of violence, calling for "sexual revolution" and "anything goes...." There is nothing new in this; the fascists did the same thing. They knew very well that the first thing to do is cripple men's souls, strip them of everything that is human.... The rest--physical murder--is a much easier task. The theoreticians of the military-industrial complex calculate that the total annihilation of mankind in a nuclear catastrophe must be preceded, as a stage in the planning, by the moral destruction of the people--above all, I repeat, the young people.

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WRITER: If I've understood everything correctly, things look approximately like this: Imperialism's World Cold War Two, as you call it, considering its ideological-provocational character, has the following basic aims: First, to deceive the working people, keep them out of the class struggle, and frighten them with the "Red Threat." Second, to morally disarm and to destroy what is human in man, to destroy men's morals and corrupt their spirit. Third and finally, to prepare mankind psychologically for nuclear conflict. Am I right?

GENERAL: Yes you are. To deceive world public opinion and divert its attention away from the World Cold War, representatives of America's military-industrial oligarchy have been bluffing for a long time, creating ever newer weapons and forms of waging war. They keep stirring up a furor about neutron and cobalt bombs, the latest missile complexes, and "space wars." Recently, as we know, the White House declared publicly the necessity of "launching a Crusade against communism," and added that the American cosmonauts' latest flights on the reusable "space shuttle" are involved in the Pentagon's plans for war in space. The purpose of the President's statements is twofold. First of all, again, to prepare mankind psychologically for global military conflict. Second, it is the latest attempt to mislead world public opinion: "Yes, war is possible, but in outer space...." And again the tedious "Soviet threat." America's military-political plutocracy screams so loud about a "communist apocalypse" that it can't even hear the rattling of its own thermonuclear weapons.... At the same time, nuclear catastrophe has become old hat in the people's minds, one which belongs to the end of the 1960s. Everyone in the world has decided that a nuclear conflict cannot take place between developed social formations, that wars--including local ones--are the lot of the underdeveloped or the savage fascistic countries. Hence all the saber-rattling and Washington's calls for a Crusade against communism ("to wipe them off the face of the earth"). This is surely stone-age stuff.

Wipe communism off the face of the earth? But that's a two-edged sword! Imperialism will be wiped off the face of the earth too, and, in fact, the earth will no longer have a "face...." These absurd U.S. policies only unmask them and reveal the secret as to who is inviting nuclear catastrophe and obviously considers it acceptable, especially if we compare all of this to the peaceful course of the socialist camp and L. I. Brezhnev's steadfast statements at the 26th party congress in favor of avoiding nuclear catastrophe and war in general. The Soviet Union's unilateral decision not to make first use of nuclear weapons, and the United States' rejection of this proposal, exposed to the world the secret as to who in fact is preparing a nuclear apocalypse. Consider: Two crews were flying in space at the same time--an American crew and a Soviet-French one. The whole world knows what aims the two crews were pursuing. Here are some more figures. The United States has accounted for 215 of all the local wars started by imperialism since 1945. The Pentagon has attempted to use nuclear weapons 33 times. Fortunately, the attempts went no further than that. But these facts speak volumes: A thermonuclear catastrophe--I'll say it again and again--is a frightening story; it is not simply an abstract idea used by the imperialists to exacerbate international tension for the benefit of the capitalist elite. It is a genuine threat to peace, an alarming reality, which obliges mankind to be vigilant and work actively against war.

WRITER: Incidentally, you mentioned stories.... Works of science fiction (of course, I don't pretend to have an exact definition) are nothing but stories, dependent on the authors' skills, talent, and position, elevated to a new qualitative level, a new dimension of time. But, as we know, stories can be good, funny, and frightening. It would probably be hard these days to find a school kid who hasn't read Wells' "War of the Worlds." But perhaps not everyone knows what happened in the United States in the autumn of 1938. Orson Welles, a movie actor well-known to us now, broadcast a radio program based on the great English writer's fantasy. Welles and his colleagues moved the scene of the action to contemporary America and staged it in the form of an "on-the-spot newscast" without warning their listeners. The "newscast from the top of a New York skyscraper" sounded like this: "... The enemy is coming closer. Five huge spacecraft ... one is coming across the Hudson ... its gigantic steel portholes are as high as the top of the skyscraper ... this is the end ... black smoke is everywhere ... black smoke has smothered the city ... people are running toward the East River ... thousands of people are running like mice to save themselves. The smoke is getting thicker. The people are trying to escape ... but in vain. They are dying like flies. Now the smoke has reached Sixth Avenue ... Fifth Avenue ... now it's about 100 yards from me ... 50 feet ...

"... New York! Can anybody hear me? (silence)...."

The remarkable thing about this episode, as recounted by A. Revich in his article "Performance Proving Ground," is that about 1 million Americans believed that the radio was broadcasting real news, that the Martians had really captured New York. The reason is clear. This took place prior to World War Two. People had been fearing it for a long time. The well-known American astronomer J. Menzel wrote later: "Thousands of terror-stricken

people prepared to evacuate or prayed to God for help. Some people thought that the Germans or Japanese had attacked. Hundreds of people invited friends and relatives to their homes for a final farewell. Many ran around in a frenzy, creating panic, until they finally found out what had happened. Roads and telephone lines were jammed for hours...." What do you think would happen if someone pulled a trick like that today and then explained to the people that the "broadcast" was just a joke?

GENERAL: Some joke! A silly, harmful, dangerous prank. Lots of people could have died. As for today, I do not doubt that the panic would be 10 times greater. In 1938 the term "atomic bomb" did not even exist. Today, mankind lives in chronic fear of possible nuclear conflict. In my opinion, a real science fiction writer would never pull such a trick. There are plenty of fantasy writers preaching nuclear apocalypse anyway, we have plenty of "horror movies," and the example of former U.S. Secretary of Defense Forrestal, who leaped from a window screaming "Russian tanks!"

WRITER: Yes, but what does Wells have to do with it? He wrote a serious novel. A novel of warning, a book intended to instill in people a sense of responsibility for the fate of our planet. Incidentally, "War of the Worlds," as subsequent historical events showed, clearly portrayed the most characteristic features of fascism. Real science fiction, if we consider most works in the genre and the best authors in our country and abroad, promotes good ideas clearly, humanistic principles, and lofty and beautiful ideals. And what is especially important, science fiction is always optimistic. Even when the writer's "story" has an "unhappy ending." This optimism stems from the talented artist's ability to see the historical perspective, and it is based on faith in human reason.... But let us dispense with fantasy and the dreams of science fiction writers. What can, what should be done in today's actual conditions to prevent nuclear catastrophe and save mankind?

GENERAL: As we know, approximate parity of forces now exists between the Soviet Union and the United States in terms of nuclear capability. I say "approximate" because the two sides have built up more than enough nuclear forces for present and future catastrophic consequences. In terms of amounts of stockpiled weapons, in addition to parity it is based on reliable, mathematically calculated control systems which enable us in the event of the adversary's nuclear aggression to inflict on him not only a response but also a counterblow of even greater force and accuracy. This would take only a couple of seconds. It is already futile to trust in deception and bluff; what we are dealing with here is more the scientific-technical rather than the military sphere, and the level of development of this sphere is such that it absolutely rules out the possibility of a nuclear strike being unanswered. This kind of guarantee ensures the whole socialist camp's military invulnerability to possible aggression, wherever it might come from--the United States, or any of the military blocs and groups it promotes in any part of the world. What military invulnerability means is that the weapons and control systems are in top condition and the Soviet armed forces' military readiness is such that at any time they can inflict a crushing blow in response to any attempted aggression, regardless of the quantity, forms, and techniques of use of the weapons available to the adversary and all his

hostile coalition. And on either a regional or a global scale, too. Military invulnerability constitutes a great victory for the Soviet Union and every state participating in the Warsaw Pact. It is the historic successor to the Soviet people's victory in the struggle against fascist Germany. It is the Soviet Union's military invulnerability and its mighty opposition to the evil designs of the nuclear maniacs that enable the world's peoples to look forward confidently to tomorrow.

WRITER: The question is, how long can this confrontation last...?

GENERAL: Indeed, it is. We are living in a tense era, one unprecedented in history. Nuclear confrontation can otherwise be defined only as a period on the verge of catastrophe. The slightest mistake can be fatally dangerous to mankind. Scientific-technical confrontation to nuclear catastrophe depends on how reliably the automated control system instantaneously triggering all the forces and means of resistance can be activated against the main source of all misfortune--the nuclear arsenal of the United States. Thus, the Soviet Union's nuclear opposition to the military-industrial complex of the United States grants mankind the time and means to prevent catastrophe and stop wars. But this balance is not a permanent one. The man in the White House has his finger on the button of the "black box." One punch means disaster.... Everything else aside, we cannot forget that preventing nuclear catastrophe costs a great deal. And I don't think it very reasonable for the rest of the world to wait passively for others to decide their fate. The future will not forgive apathetic individuals or whole peoples who fail to join the struggle to save all mankind's home, which is the earth.

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WRITER: But you said that the 44-century history of wars is at the same time a chronicle of antiwar movements. The United Nations was created in 1945. Its Charter states clearly that its purpose is to "protect international peace and security," "to resolve international disputes by peaceful means," to make nations renounce "the use or threat of force in international relations against ... any state," and, finally, "to provide for collective measures against aggressors...."

GENERAL: The United Nations, you say? Long before it was organized, right after World War One, the League of Nations was created and functioned for some time. Its purpose was to "develop cooperation among nations and guarantee their peace and security." That's what it said on paper. In reality, the League of Nations spearheaded armed intervention against Soviet Russia. It mounted an economic and diplomatic blockade against our country in the name of 44 capitalist states. That organization, which was a political weapon of world imperialism, did nothing but blather demagogically about disarmament and deceitfully mislead the masses of people. Finally, under the slogan "nonintervention," it in fact untied Hitler's hands to mount a campaign of bloodshed against humanity. As for the United Nations, let us repeat the figures which I cited at the beginning of our conversation: In 35 years there have been about 480 local wars in the world, causing the deaths

of more than 31 million people, only 3 million of them military personnel. The imperialist states have regularly violated and are violating the Charter's stipulations regarding the use of UN armed forces. In 1950 the United States, bypassing the Security Council, foisted on the UN the decision to send armed forces to Korea to wage aggression against the Korean people. During the act of aggression against Egypt in 1956, carried out jointly by Great Britain, France, and Israel--again in violation of the UN Charter--special armed forces units were created to defend imperialist interests in the Near East. In 1960, UN armed forces sent to the Republic of the Congo were used not in support of the government but against it. Today, in the face of the aggressive actions of the rabid Israeli militarists, the UN has shown itself to be completely helpless. When the necessity arises, then, what can it do against the military power of the arch-aggressors of the United States?

WRITER: Well, then, in your opinion what is a realistic way to prevent a global nuclear catastrophe?

GENERAL: History shows that all universal revolutionary changes occur when the conflict between opposing forces reaches its apogee and human patience reaches its limit. The crisis that has developed in the world today is just such a limit and apogee. At the 26th CPSU Congress Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev stated: "Any attempt to defeat one another in an arms race, any attempt to win victory in a nuclear war, is dangerous stupidity.... To defend peace--there is at present no international task more vital than this for our party, our people, and for all the nations of the earth." It is a remarkably significant and exact definition of the vital necessity of firm antiwar action. In a situation on the verge of nuclear catastrophe, mankind is faced with a choice: The inevitability of war, or the inevitability of ending war? Shall we arm or shall we live? There is no third choice, and the whole history of civilization on earth answers: Let us disarm in order to live! The problem of saving mankind, preserving life on our planet, demands that we completely eradicate from the nature of things not only nuclear confrontation but also the factors that cause it--conventional wars in all forms. Consequently, we must speak about liquidating armed forces and weapons in all the countries of the world as well as the possibility of resuming them at any time in the future. The Leninist technique of unmasking dangerous and destructive theories like Kahn's, which have brought about the creation of numerous types of world armaments (for example, the neutron bomb) and special armed forces for fictitious "local wars," has shown incontrovertibly that it is essential to do away with such wars and their trappings of weaponry. This will sharply diminish militaristic bases in the world. If in the past putting the question this way would seem like an unrealizable dream, in our time it is the only rational way, for the question is to be, or not to be.

Disarmament will sharply change the course of the scientific-technical revolution, which is now chiefly in the hands of the military and serves primarily the purpose of perfecting weapons of mass destruction. I firmly believe that a revolution against world war must and will become history's main motivating force in the final years of this, our 20th century.

After all, 99 percent of the earth's population is against a handful of militarists. And in this, explanatory propaganda work must play a vital role. We need popular scientific works, books, movies, radio, and television showing the true correlation of potential of those who side with the warmongers. It is hard to exaggerate the importance of literary works which are capable of using emotion to influence man's consciousness. And in this noble endeavor, a central place has been assigned to science fiction, which is an exceptionally "free" genre not confined in space and time, and which is extremely popular among young people....

As we mentioned above, in the imperialist countries, especially the United States and Great Britain, books which whip up militaristic psychosis, slander the world of socialism, and make readers feel a sense of doom and fear about tomorrow, are published one after another in great numbers. Against such "literature," whose aim is to break man's spirit and crush people's ability to fight, we must match bright, healthy, strong, and good thoughts and feelings. We must help people of different races and political persuasions to join together in the movement against world war, a movement which, in my opinion, will mean mankind's spiritual renewal and cleansing of the filthy ideology of militarism.

WRITER: A wonderful dream! I think that science fiction writers still have a long way to go in substantively and concretely depicting mankind's future and ways to do away with war forever, giving humanity the best historical perspective on life and creative endeavors in a world of guaranteed permanent peace....

GENERAL: It's not just a dream but a reality. Not by chance was it noted at our 26th party congress that "from ancient times, relations between states have been termed international. Only in our era, however, in the world of socialism, have they truly become relations between nations. They are participated in directly by many millions of people. This is a fundamental gain of socialism, earning mankind's greatest respect." Here's the answer to that: If the idea of a world free from war was judged by the people in the course of 44 centuries to be an idle dream, today it seems to us a realistic one, a historically conditioned bright tomorrow for the world. After all, the world socialist system was achieved only in our century--more accurately, the second half of our century.

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WRITER: Everything you have said shows convincingly that it is irresponsible any more, to say the least, to speak of a "conventional" world war and local nuclear conflicts, for a military clash between the two worlds would inevitably lead to nuclear catastrophe. At the same time, every one of your theses is infused with the profound belief that mankind can prevent the global annihilation of life on earth and the destruction of our planet, which is the habitat of life's existence.... Does this mean that we can already take concrete steps to reduce the danger of war in the world?

GENERAL: Of course. We all recall the heroic slogan, "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!", which was implemented in practice during the Great Patriotic War and was the decisive factor in our victory over Hitlerism. Now, when the world is on the verge of nuclear catastrophe, it would be futile to prepare the country and the people for a future world war on the basis of this principle--because, I repeat, there will be no front, and no victory either. We have to prepare not for war but for catastrophe! Here are a few figures. Some 38 states were involved in World War One, 70 million men were under arms, and 10 million people perished. The respective figures for World War Two are 61, 110 million, and 58 million. By historical extrapolation, a "conventional" World War Three would involve more than 100 states, with 200 million men under arms and 130 million lives lost.... But today we are dealing with completely different realities. For 40 centuries, war was waged hand to hand. For the past 400 years, firearms have been used. Now, however, the only real war is nuclear--a catastrophe, the nuclear confrontation of two worlds within a framework of instantaneous readiness. If for a moment we assume the unthinkable, the impossible, the unimaginable--that global catastrophe does take place--then we have every scientific reason to believe that there will be no new "conventional" world war, for it would serve no purposes whatever. Why, then, are we preparing the world's armies and military industry for this unwageable war, what's the use of employing 20 million conventionally armed men out of a total 26 million under arms? I repeat: It is the United States that is interested in an unwageable "conventional" World War Three and local nuclear wars, for the U.S., continually broadening the world's militaristic base to a fantastic degree, makes trillions of dollars in profits thereby. If the world's nations would renounce the outmoded practice of preparing for nonexistent wars, the production of vast arsenals of weapons, and the maintenance of useless military forces, the people of the world could get "butter instead of guns" right today.... It is essential that the political and military leaders of the world come to this conclusion--not after a quarter-century, as in the case of those absurd local nuclear wars, but much sooner.

WRITER: Fine, let's hope that, at long last, the time will come when mankind can bury the term "war" once and for all....

GENERAL: Hoping is not enough, we have to fight for it. I'm firmly convinced that this struggle will be successful. We are living at a turning point in world history. War is in its death throes. This does not mean, however, that we can be complacent. Quite the contrary--we must be more actively involved, and on a global scale.

Every honest person, every man of good will, was keenly interested in, fully approving of, and sincerely grateful for the Soviet Union's unilateral pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. And how was this declaration met by the political and military leaders of the biggest imperialist states? Neither Reagan, Thatcher, nor their brethren manifested a reasonable attitude toward this peace initiative. They didn't express a willingness to support and develop it. In fact, despite the people's hopes for peace on earth, for preventing nuclear catastrophe, they announced new, hastily concocted doctrines, directives, and strategic plans and even stepped up their hysterical attacks against the countries of the socialist commonwealth.



Just a few days after the Soviet Union pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the U.S. President submitted to the budget 18 billion dollars to develop a guidance system designed to "prevail" in a so-called "protracted" nuclear war (incidentally, Senator Kennedy called Reagan's militarist course "a policy of nuclear adventurism." The purpose is the same: world domination, a "crusade against communism." The strategic concept, however, is to all appearances a new one: the above-mentioned "protracted" nuclear war and its derived idea of a "crippling" first-strike nuclear blow against the Soviet Union's nuclear missiles and control systems in order to rule out a counterstrike.

Furthermore, recently Reagan declared categorically that "the Soviet experiment is in decline. Our adversaries are on their last legs." His statement is laughable, to put it mildly. But we certainly can and must "look the facts in the face." American imperialism's overall military strategic plan calls for waging all four types of war against the countries of the socialist commonwealth, with the thousands of extra weapons needed for the job, and thereby bringing about our economic collapse and strategic disarray.

New placements of nuclear missiles are being set up in Europe. Their purpose is to drag us into a local nuclear war. Imperialism is trying to play the "China card" and start a completely unnecessary "conventional" world war while the United States itself continues to provoke conventional wars and prepares for unlimited nuclear war. Their intention is crystal clear: To drag their adversary into the four types of war at once, keeping themselves involved in only two.... But it won't work. These fascist militarist bosses will have to learn that their "clever" ruses are doomed. It is perfectly clear: The other side will respond to these two types of war with the same two types and rebuff both the superfluous local nuclear war and the outmoded "conventional" world war.

It is not so much a military matter as a scientific-technical one. This means that it is no longer possible to count on military ruses, deceit, and bluffing. Scientific-technical precision in pinpointing all of the enemy's targets, and further activation of the control systems! These are extremely reliable phenomena. In terms of effectiveness, precision, and timeliness, they take care of any possible error or gap.

This multiple-process system incorporates all possible strategic and tactical tasks involved in the scientific-technical confrontation of nuclear catastrophe, so as to ensure maximally reliable activation of the automated system controlling instant triggering of all the means and forces of resistance in response to a surprise nuclear strike. The fantastic global task is handled effectively in a different way: An equivalent counteraction algorithm has been programmed for any action algorithm, and an alliance forming a planet-wide system is being developed. Its scientific-technical achievements are convincing the people of the world that any hope of "victory" is generally absurd, because surprise and the advantage of a first strike are eliminated. We have technical and mathematical proof of the senselessness of confrontation of scientific-technical catastrophes. You might pull ahead a little

bit, of course, but that which has been created (and is being developed constantly) very reliably ensures not only a response nuclear strike but also a counterstrike, and in just a few seconds, too. Is it worthwhile, then, to keep pushing science and technology toward catastrophe? I think not. Mathematics, the highest form of exact logic, proves that now and in the future there can be no conceivable "superiority" except universal destruction, and any "military superiority" has long since lost its meaning. But we cannot lag behind, either. As CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade I. V. Andropov stated at the extraordinary Central Committee Plenum on 12 November 1982, "We know very well that you cannot beg the imperialists for peace. We have to defend it by reliance on the invincible might of the Soviet Union's armed forces."

The people of the world are dizzy from the doctrines, directives, and strategies which the idiotic nuclear maniacs of the West have been putting together around the global death machine they themselves have brought into being. But we must be guided only by the real capabilities and nature of this machine, which require an unequivocal answer to the question: The end of humanity, or the end of war? Of course, the imperialists wanted to have (and did in fact create) a nuclear catastrophe machine with unilateral functions--"victory," with the intention of "wiping communism off the face of the earth." The socialist camp has opposed to it an anti-nuclear-catastrophe machine, and now two functions have been programmed into the resulting parity, which mathematically and technically cancel each other out. The facts show that the mathematics of human survival have for a quarter-century prevailed over the mathematics of global death, and the reason is that in the event of a nuclear conflict, the self-annihilation of the imperialist side is inevitable. To put it another way, class-based confrontation has been incorporated into the mathematical device, confrontation between the catastrophe offered by imperialism, on the one hand, and the anti-catastrophe affirmed by socialism, on the other. A military duel with today's weapons has been ruled out. The confrontation between the two worlds can continue only by other means--peaceful political and economic means, and so on. The world situation categorically demands that we immediately renounce the myth of the possibility of unilateral destruction by force. Today the two antagonistic worlds, each of which proclaims the historical necessity and inevitability of the demise of the other, will sooner or later be forced to recognize not only the logic of peaceful coexistence but also of peaceful existence, that humanity's fate may be so ordered that

In all their realm and kingdoms  
The wolf and lamb fed peacefully together.

[Shota Rustaveli]

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NATIONAL

PEL'SHE DENOUNCES 'LIBERALISM' IN PARTY CONTROL WORK

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 18, Sep 82 pp 21-27

[Article by A. Ya. Pel'she, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee: "Party Commissions: Improve the Effectiveness of Control"]

[Text] During the 26th CPSU Congress, it was pointed out that the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and the party commissions of local party bodies have intensified the struggle against violations of party and state discipline. They talked about the work experience of party commissions during a meeting of party commission chairmen of local party bodies and party commission secretaries of Soviet Army and Navy political bodies.

A. Ya. Pel'she, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, spoke during the meeting.

The report from the meeting is published below.

The successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress requires an increase in the effectiveness of party leadership and an improvement in the work style and methods of party organizations. In connection with this, the further improvement of the monitoring and control of the work done is acquiring special significance as one of the most important component parts of the party's organizational work. The CPSU Central Committee has recently undertaken a number of steps in this direction. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving the Monitoring and Control of Work Done in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress", which was adopted in August of last year, is related to these.

An important place in monitoring the observance of CPSU regulations and the norms of party life by communists and in the strengthening of party discipline has been allotted to the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, the party commissions of the union republic Communist Party central committees,

and the party kraykoms and obkoms, who -- as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out during the 26th Congress -- have intensified their struggle against violations of party and state discipline.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee recently conducted a two-day conference of the party commission chairmen of local party bodies and the party commission secretaries of Soviet Army and Navy political bodies.

I. S. Gustov, first deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, presented the report on the participation of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and party commissions in the work of further improving party and state discipline in light of the tasks which are flowing from the decisions of the 26th party congress.

As was pointed out in the report, planning principles have received widespread development during recent years in the practices of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and party commissions. The questions, which are included by the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee in its work plans, are carefully studied in advance by responsible workers. A distinctive feature of this control of the work done is the fact that almost all of them are connected with monitoring the fulfillment of party and government decrees.

Questions concerning the struggle for the purity of party ranks and the improvement of their solidarity, organizational ability and observance of state planning discipline are continuously being reflected in the work plans of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and party commissions. However, one still has occasion to encounter cases of an irresponsible attitude toward the fulfillment of planned quotas and contract obligations concerning the delivery of products. Moreover, eye-washing, where the outright deception of the state by means of additions to the volumes of sold industrial and agricultural products and construction and repair operations is being tolerated, has also not been overcome. Cases of the commissioning of installations with important imperfections are also being revealed.

In light of the publication of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving the Monitoring and Control of Work Done in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" in which it was recommended that the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and the party commissions of the union republic Communist Party central committee and of the party kraykoms, obkoms okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms undertake steps to further improve party control and to improve the discipline and responsibility of personnel for the unconditional fulfillment of party decisions, questions concerning the monitoring and control of work done have acquired even greater significance in the activity of the Party Control Committee and the party commissions of the local party bodies. Measures, in which the basic directions of monitoring activity for the near term and for the long range have been defined, have been developed in the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee to implement this decree of the party's Central Committee.

The speaker talked about the need for strict monitoring of the carrying out of the decisions concerning construction projects which have important national economic significance. Thus, the CPSU Central Committee has entrusted the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee with investigating the reasons for the lags in the construction of a number of important petrochemical enterprises. Thorough inspections, in which workers from local party bodies participated, were conducted in each one of these construction projects; and their results were examined in the Party Control Committee. A severe claim for the lack of discipline which was demonstrated was addressed to the leading workers of the ministries and construction organizations who were personally responsible for the lagging behind which was tolerated. Capacities at 11 installations are now being commissioned.

A great deal of attention is being devoted by the Party Control Committee to questions about improving the safekeeping of socialist property and to the struggle against mismanagement and waste. A careless attitude toward the safekeeping of socialist property has been revealed in a number of enterprises and farms in the republics and departments, particularly in the Kadardin-Balkar and Tuza Autonomous Republics, on the North Caucasus and Transcaucasus railroads, and the Black Sea Steamship Lines. The people, who are guilty of a lack of control and connivance in the embezzlement of national property, have been subjected to well-deserved punishment and have been expelled from the party for abusing their service position.

The work with appeals was widely treated in the report. Again and again it was pointed out that the CPSU Rules require a great deal of responsibility, a tactful and attentive attitude toward the appellant, a careful and objective examination of the accusations which are being brought, and at the same time an exacting approach toward evaluating the misdemeanors of those who are violating the requirements in the rules and who are conducting themselves unworthily.

It was pointed out that the local party bodies and their party commissions have begun to examine the personal files of communists more carefully and to correctly evaluate the misdemeanors of those who have committed an offense. The quality in preparing personnel records has noticeably improved although one cannot consider that all problems have been solved here. For example, cases, where some party committees examine questions concerning the party responsibility of a communist by bypassing the primary party organizations, are still being encountered. This not only takes the offender away from the justified criticism of his comrades but also inflicts harm on the task of correctly indoctrinating personnel.

Special importance in exercising party control is attached to the work with letters, especially those in which violations of party and state discipline and the norms of party morality, the suppression of criticism and the persecution of comrades who come forward with critical comments are reported.

As the inspections which are being conducted by the Party Control Committee show, a condescending attitude toward persons, who organize collective drinking

bouts, is still being shown in a number of places. When celebrating personal anniversaries, some directors -- without considering the requirements on party modesty -- accept expensive gifts from enterprises under their jurisdiction and from workers who are subordinate to them, they arrange splendid banquets with an abundance of alcoholic drinks, they allow the illegal expenditure of state resources for these purposes, or they arrange every possible extortion. Local party bodies and their party commissions have recently intensified the struggle against displays of this type and have begun to hold the organizers of collective drinking bouts and the lovers of presents and entertainment more strictly accountable.

Publicity in party control, just as in all party activity, is receiving further development. In the central and local periodic press, CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and party commission articles and other materials about the inspections, which are being conducted, and the measures, which are being adopted, have become part of the system.

The majority of those who spoke during the conference pointed out that the attention of party committees towards the commissions has been recently increased; they are being staffed with personnel who have a great deal of party work experience. Many of the party commission members are members of the corresponding party committees and enjoy respect. The commissions coordinate their work with the departments of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and of the party kraykoms and obkoms. The ties of the party commissions with the people's control committees and other control organs have been strengthened.

Comrade Smagliyenko, chairman of the Leningrad CPSU obkom party commission, said that the bureau and secretariat of the party's oblast committee are exercising daily direction of the party commission, supporting it and charging it with serious missions. After the publication of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Furthering Improving the Monitoring and Control of Work Done in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress", this attention has been increased even more. The obkom, raykoms and gorkoms of the CPSU are defining the main direction in the work of the party commissions and are aiming at their concrete participation in the implementation of the plans for economic and cultural organizational development. In inspecting party and government directives on the instructions of the party obkom bureau, the party commission workers are trying to follow a genuinely party approach and to evaluate phenomena and facts from general state positions.

Comrade Dashchenko, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee party commission, dwelt on questions concerning the improvement of party control forms and methods. He reported that the work of the party commission is being carried out according to a plan which is compiled for a six-month period. So that there will not be any duplication of questions, the plans are coordinated with the departments and are reviewed in the secretariat of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. This approach to the planning of the work permits the purposefulness of control to be raised; control to be exercised systematically, insuring publicity and

effectiveness; existing shortcomings and the reasons for their origin to be thoroughly studied and analyzed; and effective steps to eliminate them to be taken. When the correctness of the use of official motor vehicle transportation was studied in the ministries and departments of the Ukraine, it was established that more than 3,000 automobiles above the authorized limit were being maintained in the organizations of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, Ministry of Motor Transport and Union of Consumers' Societies. This led to a significant over-expenditure of state resources. Based on the recommendation of the party commission, the results of the inspection were discussed during meetings of the ministries' collegium and the Ukrainian Union of Consumers' Societies' board which approved concrete measures to bring the necessary order to the use of motor transport. Those, who were guilty of tolerating the violations -- including two deputy housing and municipal service ministers, were held strictly accountable, and several officials were dismissed from the post which they held.

Comrade But-Gusaim, chairman of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee party commission, dwelt on questions concerning party committee leadership of the party commission and the organization of the training of their workers. The Belorussian party bodies have carried out a number of steps aimed at intensifying the activity of the party commissions and improving the forms and methods of their work, and they have reinforced them with communists who are respected and who know the questions involved in party organizational development. Party commissions are headed by organic workers in more than 85 percent of the party committees. Seminars in the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and party obkoms and monthly courses in the Minsk Higher Party School and party obkoms are the main form for the training of party commission workers. The seminar conference of party commission chairman in party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, which was conducted last year in accordance with a decision of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee bureau and in which responsible workers from the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic ministries and departments participated, contributed to the further improvement of the work.

Comrade Khachatryan, chairman of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee party commission, said in his presentation that he had more than once been convinced that nothing arouses the indignation of the Soviet people and that nothing poisons the political, moral and psychological atmosphere like the embezzlement of socialist property, bribery, the abuse of one's official position for mercenary purposes, and the impunity of people who have entered onto this slippery path. In this connection, he told about one inspection which had received a broad response in the republic. After an article in the central newspaper about the dishonest deals of "people who had knocked off work" with some rayon workers and farm directors, the party commission decided to check the condition of the fund discipline in the republic's Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry. The inspection established that the directors of this ministry and of the enterprises, which are subordinate to it, supplied in accordance with the different types of requests from leading workers a considerable amount of funded materials to them often through those "who had knocked off work". These then sold the materials to the farms at an exorbitant price, deriving a great deal of

unearned income during this. Based on the results of the inspection, party proceedings were instituted against G. Vartanyan, the minister of the construction materials industry, and two of his deputies, and they were dismissed from the positions which they held; the chief of the ministry's supply and sales administration was expelled from CPSU membership; and several other combine and quarry administration directors were also held strictly accountable.

The question of working with letters occupied an important place in the presentation of Comrade Lebedev, chairman of the party commission of the CPSU Ivanovo obkom. Recently, the party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms have significantly increased the number of assignments for party commissions to analyze worker's letters and applications. As a rule, the letters are checked by travelling to the spot and specific steps are taken to eliminate the shortcomings and violations which are revealed. In 1981, the party obkom party commission, in analyzing letters which had arrived concerning personnel questions, established a number of cases of gross violations of party principles in the selection of personnel and in the assignment of persons, who had compromised themselves and who had not been able before to cope with the duties which had been placed on them, to various leading positions. The material of the inspection was examined in the party obkom bureau which condemned the vicious practice of reassigning leaders who had failed. Party proceedings were instituted against a number of officials.

The following party commission chairmen also talked in their presentations about the experiences which had been accumulated in the work to improve party control forms and methods: Comrade Yazikov, the Moscow CPSU obkom; Comrade Kalikov, Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Atakulov, Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Mogilevtsev, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Berdiyev, Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Gaysin, Kazakh Communist Party Tselinograd obkom; Comrade Burakov, Voronezh CPSU obkom; Comrade Solovey, Ukrainian Communist Party Dnepropetrovsk obkom; Comrade Dyagilev, Tomsk CPSU obkom; and Comrade Balakirev, executive party commission secretary of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy.

In conclusion, A. Ya. Pel'she, Politburo member and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, spoke at the meeting. He dwelt in his speech on the more important questions in the work of party control bodies.

As you know, the speaker said, the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum approved the Food Program out to 1990. The plenum materials and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report during it have defined the ways and methods to solve the majestic tasks which are facing the party and the people.

All of us must work to implement them. Experience suggests how and where the efforts of party control will be brought to bear on the questions which are arising. However, it seems to me that it is already clear that we can and must concentrate our attention on the struggle against losses in agricultural products and against their spoiling. Objective reasons, the shortage of



storage areas, and difficulties with transportation will let themselves be known soon. However, there are also quite a few reasons of a subjective nature; irresponsibility, mismanagement, the lack of administrative abilities in officials, and indifference towards losses. Here, the sharp sword of party control can strike down these causes which are being eliminated. Here, the contribution of party controllers can be measured by thousands and tens of thousands of tons of saved grain, vegetables and fruits.

I would like to call upon you to think about the forms of our participation in the struggle to save and safeguard products, fertilizer and equipment. A certain schema has taken shape with us -- assemble a little more negative facts, enter the frightening figures of the losses and spoilage in a memorandum. Of course, this cannot be avoided. But it is necessary to punish the guilty ones. However, the benefit for the task would be much greater as a true lesson for them if -- along with the carelessness and its consequences the positive fruits of zealous management by neighbors in, let us say, the same rayon, association, kolkhoz, etc., were also shown. Let the negligent ones see how there were different results under conditions, which were as equal as possible, and with identical capabilities.

A large place in the presentation was allotted to questions concerning the further improvement of party control in general.

The growth of the party's leading role during the present stage predestines a further increase in the importance of monitoring and controlling work done. This is understandable: The more complicated the tasks facing society are, the greater their scale is, and the more broadly the masses of workers are brought into the constructive creative work; the more accurately and effectively will the entire control mechanism, especially the party control mechanism, operate.

As is known, the party's Central Committee adopted a number of decrees, which have definite significance for improving control work, during the period directly preceding the 26th CPSU Congress and soon after it. The decrees "On Further Improving Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work", "On Further Improving the Management Mechanisms and on the Tasks of Party and State Bodies", "On Measures to Further Improve the Work of Peoples' Control Bodies and To Strengthen Party Direction of Them in Connection With the Adoption of the Law on Peoples' Control in the USSR", and finally, "On Further Improving the Monitoring and Control of Work Done in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" are of this sort.

Thanks to the measures which have been adopted by the party and its Central Committee, the Leninist principles for organizing control have been further developed during recent years. Its content has been enriched. The planning principles of control have been strengthened. Its forms and methods have become more diverse. Our movement, which is ascending, has not remained unnoticed-- a high evaluation of the work of the party commissions resounded during the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses. Is there a subject for discussion today? Can we think that we have achieved the heights and it is only necessary to dig in on them? I think that we cannot think this-- we have still a little bit further to go to the top.

It is necessary to take a new height. There can be many paths in front; however, there is only one main one among them. Shifting from the allegory to our real and concrete tasks, I think that this main path for us is the effectiveness of control and the achievement of perceptible results.

As is evident from the summarized data and from our presentations, a numerical growth in the number of inspections, of violators who are detected, and of questions of a disciplinary nature which are submitted to the bureau and plenums is present. Like it or not, this is a definite indicator of work and a witness to the increase in the activity of the party commissions.

It is impossible to refuse party commission workers the right to experience a certain satisfaction from this data. However, it is necessary to approach them dialectically just like everything else. The numbers can cause rejoicing and at the same time pain. Miserable actions, violations of discipline and the rules of the CPSU, and abuses are behind our figures. It is good that they have been detected but one should not be happy that they exist.

Despite the evident improvements in control work and despite the efforts which are being exerted in this direction, the overall condition of control -- this is openly and directly admitted by the party -- still does not answer modern requirements. In the work of a significant number of party organizations, the control of the work done is still a bottleneck.

Liberalism, unjustified indulgence, and moreover connivance with seriously guilty persons-- whether we want this or not--produce and will produce newer and newer deviations from our party norms. It is necessary to firmly defend the norms of party life and to exert a more effective influence on eradicating negative phenomena.

Of course, increasing the severity of the claim against the guilty parties will help us to gain the upper hand in the struggle against the antipodes of communist morality. However, this is not enough. The enormous importance of party control is determined by the fact that it is directly and organically linked with the other very important function of organizational activity -- the selection and assignment of personnel. Relatively independent, they-- strictly speaking -- give in their synthesis and their merging that which we call organizational work. Let us recall its brief wording. Organizational work is the selection of personnel and the control of work done.

Among us, it is possible at times to hear opinions that personnel -- so they say -- are "not our business", that is, they are not a matter for the control bodies -- the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and the party commissions.

Let us say right out that the opinion is a debatable one. However, a great deal here depends on what is understood by "personnel" and "our business". If one has in mind the selection of people and their promotion, training, and movement up the official ladder or dismissal from the positions held; there is, of course, something here for someone to do and without the special control bodies. These are matters for the leading party body and its appropriate departments.

However, in the sense of instilling a spirit of high discipline and observance of the Rules of the CPSU in personnel, it is "our" and completely "our" business. Party controllers most frequently of all, if not constantly, contend with people, with workers in the various levels of economic, state, public, and party work; with their work style; with their different attitudes toward their responsibilities; and with blunders, mistakes and misdemeanors. As a result of party inspections, we bring -- as they say -- to party justice those who are directly guilty. However, you see, it is necessary to keep in mind that someone selected them, these workers; someone was required to indoctrinate, control and hold them strictly accountable in time and correct them in time. Why does he stand to the side? Let us assume that the oblast union of consumer's societies is being inspected and whatever the inspection, there are very serious violations and even abuses. There is a chief director there, there are directors of the subunits. What is their role? Where is their controlling eye? Where is the exactingness? It turns out that the first, the second and the third are absent. It is necessary to establish what lies behind this. Perhaps, it is deliberate connivance, personal profit; perhaps, it is simply irresponsibility. Let us assume that there is an honest individual who is not interested in encouraging the dishonest ones; however, objectively the harm from such an honest ninnny and liberal -- let us say right out -- is no less.

Let us confess that generalizations and memoranda for party committees about the status of work with personnel (in our sense) in those organizations where disorder has been revealed, are issued very seldom under our pen.

It seems that this is why there is still an incorrect and even illogical narrowing of the capabilities of party control bodies with respect to personnel matters. The Rules of the CPSU impose upon each communist the duty of "unflinchingly following the party line in the selection of personnel based on their political and work qualities". He must "be uncompromising in all cases where the Leninist principles for the selection and indoctrination of personnel are being violated".

In general, the primary party organization has been called upon to take such a position. As is evident from the statute on the commissions of the primary party organizations concerning the exercise of control over the activity of the administration and the work of the apparat, these lower control bodies must examine questions concerning the assignment and indoctrination of personnel.

The real public and political importance of party control is great because it interacts with such a norm of party life as criticism and self-criticism. It is known that the strength and invincibility of our party are in its firm and broad ties with the working class, with all workers in continuous critical self-examination. Control and criticism are inseparable in the work of the CPSU and of all its organizations. Like two friends marching shoulder to shoulder, control and criticism help to remove everything that is old, obsolete and harmful from the path of that which is new and progressive; and contribute to the dissemination of progressive experience and the best examples of organization and work.

A. Ya. Pel'she then dwelt on questions concerning party control methods and forms. When exercising party control, it is almost impossible to avoid touching upon the sphere of activity of other control bodies; however, it is hardly justified for a party control body to at times take upon itself the functions of a people's control body, replacing it. It is also impossible to consider it normal that one inspection commission replaces another in one and the same establishment, in one and the same enterprise.

A complex approach towards solving economic, social, ideological, and indoctrinational tasks must also be reflected in control work, in the organization of inspections on the most important matters, and in strengthening contacts and improving coordination with other types of control -- people's, trade union, and Komsomol. This directly flows from the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee.

In this regard, however, one should not forget that party control has its own special approach, its own hand writing, and its own specific methods of inspection. In its light, facts and manifestations acquire a political nature and they are examined thoroughly, analytically and from party positions.

It is necessary to define more thoughtfully the objects of the inspections. Mismanagement, waste, deceit, and bureaucratism must be at the center of party control attention -- generally, in all cases where discipline is violated, where deviations from our moral norms are present, and where a specific guilty person must stand before our party court.

It is not out of place today to recall another one of our precepts-- do not confine yourself to particular facts, to a superficial survey of the top of an iceberg which has been observed; but examine it to the very bottom of the part which is submerged in order to make it safe and keep it at a great distance.

If an addition is the object of a party inspection, then the statement of this fact will serve only as the beginning of a great deal of further research work. It is necessary to find the answers to a number of questions: Why did this become possible in this collective? What is the position of the primary party organization and of the workers in the higher party body? What errors were made by them and also by the directors of the appropriate department? In general, everything must be revealed accurately: Who is guilty of what-- not the central board, the board of directors and the management board in general, but a specific Ivan Ivanovich, Sidor Sidorovich.

Our work program has been clearly defined-- defend the norms of party life and the Rules of the CPSU. Its requirements are also a comprehensive plan for our work. We must continuously proceed from it, and we must be steadily guided by it.

There need be no doubt that, guided by this beacon, party control workers will honorably fulfill the important commission of the party's Central Committee-- they will carry out the measures to further strengthen control

and increase the discipline and responsibility of personnel for the unconditional fulfillment of party decisions. There is no doubt that the meeting, which was held, will serve the cause of improving party commission work.

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NATIONAL

#### EFFICIENCY OF LOCAL AUDITING COMMISSIONS EXAMINED

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 19, Oct 82 pp 45 - 48

[Article by V. Yetzenkov, chairman of the auditing commission of the Sakmarskiy Rayon party organization: "The Week-days of an Auditing Commission"]

[Text] A large organizing role in mobilizing workers to carry out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress belongs to the party raykom and the primary organizations. The auditing commission of the rayon party organization has a definite place in the indoctrination of communists, the strengthening of party discipline, the observance of norms of party life, and the increasing of each party collective's militancy.

It is guided in its activity by the Rules of the CPSU. The main directions in the commission's work are: checking the timeliness and correctness with which business is conducted in the raykom staff; the efficiency and effectiveness with which the worker's letters and applications, which arrive in the raykom, are reviewed and the procedure for receiving them; the status of payment of party membership dues; the correctness with which party economic affairs are managed in the party organizations; and the financial and economic activity of the raykom.

A conference of the rayon party organization chose 11 people to be part of our auditing commission. Among them are workers, kolkhoz farmers, bookkeepers, and economists. Every commission member knows inner party work and financial and economic clerical work. This allows us to perform auditing work at the required level and to cope with the tasks which are placed on the commission. I myself was elected chairman of the commission a long time ago; my main work is manager of the Gosbank's Sakmarskoye branch.

After the commissions of the city and rayon party organizations were chosen, the oblast CPSU committee conducted a meeting seminar with us, the chairmen. The following reports were discussed during it: on the condition and measures to improve control and auditing work in city and rayon party organizations and on the tasks of auditing commissions when checking the work of party bodies during their review of citizen letters, applications and complaints in light of the requirements of the CPSU congress. The rights and duties of

commissions, their practical tasks and the forms and methods of their work were discussed during the seminar meeting using concrete examples. In particular, the discussion about how to insure regular monitoring of all primary party organizations for correctness in the payment of party membership dues and their transfer to the accounts of party bodies was topical. Useful recommendations and advice were expressed concerning the work of monitoring the timeliness and effectiveness with which workers' letters and applications are reviewed in the raykom staff and the rayon newspaper editorial board. Auditing commission members, primary party organization secretaries, shop party organization secretaries, and activists who are involved in auditing work, were also instructed by us on these matters in the CPSU raykom.

So that the efforts of all commission members and its aktiv will be directed toward one planned goal and a systematic nature will be attached to their activity, we organize our work according to plans. It is always evident from them who is to do what and when. The effectiveness of the planned measures is achieved in this way. The basic direction and the important aspect of the work are reflected in the plans. Here are several points from the plan for the current year. Prepare material on the payment of party membership dues and their bookkeeping in the rayon party organization for discussion in the CPSU raykom bureau. Convene a meeting of the commission to review the work of auditing commission members in the primary party organization. Inspect the work of the party raykom with the workers' letters, applications and recommendations about fulfilling the tasks which are flowing from the Food Program. Provide help to the party raykom in conducting an instructional meeting with the secretaries of the primary party organizations on the results of the inspection of the condition of party economic affairs. We exchange experiences with the auditing commissions of other rayon party organizations about how to plan and organize our work; this helps us.

We have been convinced from experience about how important it is to skillfully distribute public duties among the members of the auditing commission with a consideration of the fact that each one of them will be responsible for a specific work sector and that he will be held accountable for what is done. The party organizations have assigned this to each member. This permits the state of affairs in party collectives to be studied better, the party aktiv to be known well, one to be guided more accurately in a situation, and more correct conclusion to be drawn from the inspections. Such an arrangement of forces excludes an incidental nature in auditing work and attaches a permanent and planned nature to it.

In order to increase the responsibility of commission members for the performance of the duties which have been imposed on them, we listen during commission meetings to their reports on the work which has been done. Here, the conversation turns to the difficulties which are arising and to their overcoming; the activists also share their experiences. The following practice also took shape with us a long time ago; After the commission members conduct an inspection, reveal shortcomings and express their comments and recommendations, the party raykom--when necessary -- organizes concrete help for the party organizations. This continuity and coordination in the actions of commission members and the staff of the CPSU raykom increases the results and effectiveness of auditing work.

The auditing commission continuously monitors financial and economic activity in the party's raykom. We always know how many resources have been received from the CPSU obkom and watch that they are expended only for the exact purpose. We regularly inspect the making of expenditure estimates. We inspect the correctness of expenditures by the political enlightenment study to acquire books, party literature, magazines, and newspapers. We watch for the rational use of paper and transport by the editorial board of the rayon newspaper LENINET.

I would like to talk about one distinctive feature in monitoring the financial and economic activity of the raykom. During past years, we essentially only settled overexpenditures which had been made because the inspections were conducted after the quarter had ended. Now, we inspect the bookkeeping before the end of the reporting periods and thereby learn to prevent unsound expenditures of resources. If it nevertheless occurs for some reason or other, then we draw up an appropriate act with which we acquaint the first secretary of the raykom; he takes the necessary steps.

We devote our main attention to the timeliness and correctness with which party membership dues are paid. The efforts of all auditing commission members are directed toward the achievement of this goal. The following members have done an especially great deal in this direction; G. Sankov, G. Mukhamed'yarova and Z. Ivanishcheva. Frequently visiting enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and institutions, they provide practical help to the secretaries of the party organizations in accurately organizing their work concerning the timely and correct payment of party membership dues and the transfer of them to the party budget. They meet with communists who pay their dues in an untimely fashion or not fully, talk with these comrades, reveal the reasons for their lack of discipline and explain to them the procedure for paying dues. There are no debts in the party collectives after these trips. Speaking for the rayon party organization as a whole, it must be confessed that we had disorder in this work.

Several communists did not pay dues from bonuses and additional earnings. Thus, 46 communists underpaid a total of 137 rubles last year, and 16 communists-- 66 rubles during the first half of this year. Underpayment of dues was disclosed in the party organization of the "Rassvet" Kolkhoz where one communist underpaid seven rubles, and in the party organization of the "Krasnaya Zhitnitsa" Sovkhoz where six communists underpaid 16 rubles. Based on auditing commission material, the actions of these communists were discussed during party meetings. The raykom bureau recommended that the secretaries of the primary party organizations in the mentioned farms eliminate the shortcomings in the payment of party membership dues and not allow similar cases in the future.

We have taken an interest and investigated the reasons why communists pay dues on an incomplete total of earnings. It turns out that the secretaries of some party organizations do not explain to the communists what types of additional payments dues must be paid on, and in general poorly acquaint party members with the procedure for calculating and paying dues. Here is a



typical example. A respected communist pensioner is continuing to work in the "Bol'shevik" Poultry Factory. It turned out that he simply did not know the requirement in the "Instructions on the Membership Dues of CPSU Members and Candidate Members" that a working communist pensioner pays dues based on the overall total of his pension and earnings. It was for this reason that he had not paid dues based on his pension for three months. When the instruction was explained to him, he paid the debt which had been generated and obtained the party organization's pardon. We also had a case in the party organization of the "Krasnaya Zhitnitsa" Sovkhoz where a rank and file communist received membership dues. Clearly, the error was corrected. It was reported during a meeting of party organization secretaries, and similar manifestations are no longer being observed.

However, as everyday experience teaches, it is not enough to teach party organization secretaries to observe the prescribed procedure for accepting membership dues and how to calculate and pay them correctly. We also watch that the secretaries turn the collected dues into a savings bank in a timely fashion. When we established that the party organization secretaries of the Kolkhoz imeni 22nd Party Congress, the "Zarya" Kolkhoz and the Kolkhoz imeni Frunze were turning the dues into the savings bank in an untimely fashion and that this could lead to the waste of party resources, the CPSU raykom took urgent steps to eliminate this phenomenon in accordance with a suggestion of the auditing commission.

The auditing commission watches that the party organization secretaries turn in summary reports on party membership dues to the party raykom in a timely fashion. In the registration sector, the records are checked without fail against the presence of communists who are registered in that party organization. The dues, which are collected, are transferred to the party budget in a timely fashion. In this respect, we do not have any deviations from the prescribed procedure. I will point out that liabilities for dues do not exist. This was specifically achieved because the CPSU raykom bureau regularly listens to questions concerning the status of payment of membership dues.

The work in the raykom departments with letters and applications from the rural population is at the center of the auditing commission's attention. It is said in the CPSU Central Committee decree on measures to further improve the work with workers' letters and proposals in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress: "Letters and suggestions from workers help party organs to orient themselves better in a situation; to evaluate the work of party, soviet and economic bodies and public organizations more objectively; to see more clearly shortcomings and ways to eliminate them; and to develop correct political decisions which correspond to the Leninist policy of the CPSU".

It is possible to corroborate this proposition with facts from the life of our rayon party organization. Here are only a few examples. Thoughts about improving the repair of combines were expressed in the letters which arrived in the raykom. The fact of the matter is that we have no special association,

which would repair them, in the rayon. The talk turned to this during one of the plenums of the CPSU raykom. The raykom bureau and the rayon council of people's deputies ispolkom studied this question and expanded the appropriate explanatory and organizational work. And what happened? They found additional capabilities for repairing the equipment using the resources of the "Sel'khoztekhnika" specialized departments. Thus, a total of 52 combines were repaired for gathering this year's harvest. Two special shops for repairing combines were constructed on the "Rodina" and "Zarya" Kolkhozes.

One of the letters reported violations of financial discipline in the kolkhozes imeni Sverdlov and 21st CPSU Congress. The facts were corroborated and the guilty ones incurred administrative and party punishments. Based on the suggestions of workers, postal communications were improved in the settlements of Greben and Donskoye and medical services in the village of Andreyevka.

As a rule, all the letters and applications, which arrive, are registered and the raykom secretaries examine them. They immediately determine who should verify the letter on the spot and who should take the necessary steps -- and when. All the useful recommendations, advice and proposals, which are contained in the letters, receive a positive answer. In those cases where the author of a letter is not correct, the appropriate explanation is given to him.

It is very important that the writers of letters and applications receive timely answers. The commission maintains unremitting control over this. As is known, letters are different in their content and nature. In the majority of them, questions, which do not require prolonged verification and which are solved in an effective manner, are broached. More than 80 percent of the messages and applications are of this type. True, there are letters which contain serious messages and questions whose solution requires a certain period of time, for example, proposals to improve the organization of work in tractor brigades, to improve the milk yield, and to expend fertilizer economically. Special commissions which are headed by a CPSU raykom worker, are being formed to verify these letters and to carry out the tasks which are posed in them. It is typical that 19 of the 26 letters, which arrived in the raykom during the past six months, were reviewed directly by the party raykom--17 of them by raykom secretaries. When our commission determined that the prescribed periods for reviewing letters had been violated, this was announced outright in a rayon party organization conference to hear reports and elect officials.

A great deal of our attention is being devoted to the reception of people. A notice that the raykom secretaries receive workers on personal matters on certain days and at convenient hours, hangs in a prominent place in the party raykom. It seems to me that this contributes to the fact that the number of complaints is noticeably decreasing in our rayon.

We, of course, also see our shortcomings. We do not succeed in doing everything as we would wish. For example, such an important method of working with the people's letters, applications and complaints as the conducting of

Open Letter Days is still being poorly exploited. When visiting primary party organizations, auditing commission members do not always thoroughly check on the timeliness and correctness with which party membership dues are paid, their transfer and the condition of the management and safekeeping of party business. At times, inventories of the book assets of the political enlightenment study are conducted in an untimely manner. We do not completely watch over the safekeeping of equipment and the inventory of the party raykom. I will also point out that the work of our auditing commission is not treated sufficiently in the rayon newspaper.

We not only see our shortcomings but we are also trying to perfect auditing work in order to raise the significance of the auditing commission's contribution to the fulfillment of the critical tasks which have been assigned to it by the rayon party organization.

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## NATIONAL

### READERS ASK ABOUT SECRET VOTING FOR PARTY OFFICIALS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 19, Oct 82 p 70

[Article: "On Elections to Party Bodies"]

[Text] In connection with the hearing of reports and the conducting of elections in primary party organizations, readers' letters with requests to answer questions, which are of interest to them, continue to arrive in the editorial board of the magazine. Several questions and the replies to them are published below.

[Question] What period of party service is required for a communist who is elected to a party bureau or party committee, and how is the secretary of a party bureau and his deputy selected: by open or secret ballot?

[Answer] The Rules of the CPSU do not define the minimum length of party service which communists, who are elected to the leading bodies of primary party organizations, must have (the length of service limitation -- no less than one year -- is only prescribed for the secretaries of primary and shop party organizations). This procedure allows young communists to be elected to party bodies along with experienced members. This contributes to their more successful passing of the practical school of collective leadership and to their mastery of the knowledge of party organizational development.

The secretaries of a party bureau and party committee and their deputies are elected by open ballot during a meeting of the party bureau or party committee.

[Question] Must the director of an enterprise or the chairman of a kolkhoz be elected to a party bureau?

[Answer] There are no mandatory candidacies for election. According to the Rules of the CPSU, every party member can be elected to a party body regardless of his position. The communists themselves decide whether it is advisable to elect some economic director or other as a member of a party bureau or party committee. Enterprise directors, just as the leaders of public organizations are often elected to party bodies. However, in doing this, it is important to insure that the more active communists from the ranks of ordinary workers, kolkhoz farmers and specialists, who have proven themselves to be good organizers and who enjoy high prestige in the workers' collectives, are nominated to leading party bodies along with the directors.

[Question] Is it possible to elect to a bureau or party committee a communist who is not registered in that party organization?

[Answer] In order to strengthen the leadership of a primary party organization, a higher party body may recommend a communist, who works in another party organization, for election as secretary. When doing this, one has in mind that the person who has been recommended will be registered in that party organization if he is elected secretary. This does not contradict the principles of intra-party democracy because the communists themselves decide whether to elect or not to elect to the post of secretary the comrade who has been recommended to them.

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NATIONAL

BETTER ATTENDANCE AT PARTY MEETINGS URGED

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 19, Oct 82 p 72

[Article: "They Were Not Prepared for the Meeting"]

[Text] We recently convened a factory-wide meeting of communists. The following questions appeared on the agenda: the enrollment of party members and candidates, training results in the party educational system and preparations for the school year.

A total of 236 communists are registered in the party organization of the ceramic plant, but 62 arrived at the meeting. I rose and said that the meeting should not be held with such a low turnout. In reply, the following suggestions were made: to consider it a meeting of representatives or even a conference.

The meeting was finally called off. It was convened five days later with a significantly larger number present and took place normally. However, L. Shapran, the deputy secretary of the plant's party bureau, said at the conclusion of the meeting that it could have been conducted with the participation of 62 communists. I consider this statement erroneous.

G. Shteyngauz, CPSU Member

Korosten,  
Zhitomir Oblast

From the editors. The published letter is permeated with a concern for improving the discipline and activity of communists. A party meeting must be prepared and conducted so that all communists are present at it -- with the exception of those who are on a business trip, vacation, sick, or who cannot be replaced at work. The participants themselves decide the question of opening a meeting. The practice of holding a meeting if there are no less than half of the composition of that party organization at it, took shape long ago.

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## NATIONAL

### 'PRAVDA' DESCRIBES ACTIVITIES OF RODINA SOCIETY

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 82 p 5

[Article by S. Timofeyeva under the rubric "At Your Request": "The Heart With the Fatherland"]

[Text] "I would like to find out more details about the activities of the Soviet Rodina society."

M. Makhnach (Smolensk)

Millions of emigrants from our country are living abroad. Chance took some of them to a foreign country, others chose such a destiny for themselves. At bottom, they are simply working people, the descendants of those who left Russia back in the time of the tsars, escaping from the repressions of autocracy, or searching for a better fate. White emigration accounted for a certain portion. The war left many outside the borders of the Fatherland.

Imperialist reaction has always counted on emigres. Among this nationally and socially variegated mass are a number of malicious antisovietniks, our irreconcilable enemies. The present Washington administration actively uses them in the declared "crusade" against socialist countries. These people, in betraying their mother country, have lost it forever.

However, the majority of our compatriots abroad, despite their reversals of fortune as emigrants, do not allow themselves to be drawn into anticommunist ventures. Patriotic-minded emigrants from the republics of our country are proud of their ethnic relation to the Soviet people, they are glad for their successes, they try to keep contact with the USSR. To maintain spiritual ties with the emigres there exists a Soviet society based on cultural relations with our countrymen abroad, the Rodina society, which was founded in 1975 based on the previously-existing Committee For Cultural Relations With Compatriots Abroad.

According to its charter, republic societies and committees for cultural relations with compatriots abroad and their departments, social organizations, creative unions, and associations can be members of this social organization.

The Rodina society develops relations with societies, clubs, and religious communities of compatriots abroad who speak out against the arms race and in

favor of peace between nations, friendship, and cooperation with our country. It exchanges books with these organizations, it helps to arrange showings of Soviet films and exhibitions which tell about the life of the peoples of the USSR. The society also helps in organizing amateur arts activities and courses in Russian. Exchanging delegations allows our countrymen to host prominent Soviet figures in the arts, artists' collectives, distinguished workers and kolkhozniks, scientists, and astronauts. In their turn, our friends abroad can become acquainted at first hand with our modern-day country. The Rodina society offers the children of countrymen abroad travel tickets to Pioneer and youth camps, and scholarships to study at Soviet VUZes and secondary schools.

The largest compatriots' organization in Europe is the Union of Soviet Citizens in Belgium, which includes women taken out of the Soviet Union by Nazis during the war years. The members of this organization hold sacred the memory of Soviet soldiers fallen in battle, and they look after the fraternal graves. In Canada, Soviet culture and way of life are extensively propagandized by the Federation of Russian Canadians, the United Fellowship of Ukrainian Canadians, and the Dukhobor religious community, the descendants of those recalcitrant Dukhobors banished from Russia by the tsar at the end of last century, in whose fate L.N. Tolstoy ardently took part. Similar organizations are active in Latin America, the USA, Australia, Italy, the FRG, Austria, Finland, Sweden, and certain other capitalist nations.

Compatriots abroad render invaluable aid in searching for monuments of the cultural legacy and returning them to the native country. Many manuscripts, diaries, and letters of famous Russian writers and artists have made their way into our country by this route. Quite recently, the Rodina society received its latest donation: (N.L. van Bleysvayk-Malyavina), a granddaughter of the Russian artist Filipp Malyavin, who lives in the Netherlands, turned over several of his drawings and a part of the archives.

Among the friends of the society are world-famous figures, such as Peter Ustinov, the English writer, actor, and director; Belgian scientist and Nobel prize-winner (I.R. Prigozhin); French author and Goncourt prize-winner (Henri Troillat); and others.

The press plays an important role in relations with our compatriots. The Society publishes the GOLOS RODINY newspaper for them, and the literary-artistic journal OTCHIZNA, in whose pages the peace initiatives of the USSR are explained, the everyday affairs of Soviet people are discussed, along with various little corners of our great country. Readers of these publications who live on different continents carry on a conversation about life and its unchanging values—esteem for the native land, human dignity, and the need to preserve peace.

The progressive press of compatriots abroad makes a substantial contribution to the development of friendly relations with the USSR. Thus, since 1917, the newspaper RUSSKIY GOLOS has been published in the United States, bringing the American public the truth about our successes in building up the economy and culture, and about social transformations in the USSR in the years of people's rule. For many years, the editor of this newspaper was V.A. Yakhontov, a man of complex and colorful fortune. A member of the Provisional



Government, he emigrated to the USA and, sincerely loving his native land, he was able to overcome misconceptions and understand the import of the revolution that the people had accomplished. V.A. Yakhontov devoted the remainder of his life to publicizing abroad the peaceable foreign policy of our country, and the ideas of socialism. His native land valued his services highly, conferring on him the Order of Peoples' Friendship.

Countrymen-patriots abroad, in the present jubilee year, are sending Soviet people, via the "Rodina" society, very sincere wishes for peace and prosperity. Appearing at a recent meeting of a Soviet organization, dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union, (M. Baydin), chairman of the Russian Social Club in Sydney, Australia, said: "We live far across the ocean, but our hearts are turned toward the Fatherland. In connection with the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, we wish the Russian people at home new labor achievements. We are sure the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will always be a stronghold of peace on earth."

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## NATIONAL

### SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES GUIDE WORK OF PARTY MACHINERY

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 10, Oct 82 pp 95-106

[Article by V.A. Sulemov, Ye. N. Tarasov: "A Scientific Approach in Party Work"]

[Excerpts] The practice of the formulation of party decisions and their realization convinces us that the scientific substantiation of decisions depends not only on an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the problem, a critical interpretation of what has been achieved and the consideration of existing potential but also on a study of the communists' opinion and reliance on collective wisdom. This is achieved with the help of the creation of competent commissions for study of the question, preparation of analytical material and a draft decision and its extensive discussion in the primary organizations and party committee departments and collective discussion at a plenum and bureau meeting. Such a democratic procedure guarantees us against incidental judgments, a superficial approach and the adoption of unwarranted measures.

The practice of the consideration of public opinion at the time of the formulation of decisions on the most important, fundamental issues which has evolved in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee in recent years merits attention. Before every Communist Party Central Committee plenum it has become the rule to notify the press of its agenda and to request that the working people send in their proposals and observations on the question under discussion. Thus the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 17th Plenum (26-27 October 1979), which discussed the question of work to improve the training, assignment and education of personnel, received more than 6,000 letters. Some 3,960 meetings of communists in the primary organizations and 29 raykom and gorkom plenums were held on this question prior to the plenum. Approximately 22,000 persons participated in scientific-practical and theoretical conferences which discussed this problem. Almost 19,000 proposals and observations, which were taken into consideration in the preparation of the Central Committee report and the plenum decree,\* were expressed for the plenum.

The 26th Georgian Communist Party Congress (January 1981) received over 8,000 letters, labor reports and greetings. Some 15 work groups, which submitted

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\* See R.L. Bugianishvili, "Activity of the Party Organizations in the Selection and Training of Personnel in the Labor Collectives," Tbilisi, 1981, pp 160, 161.

practical proposals at the time of preparation of the draft documents, operated at the congress.\* Approximately 5,000 proposals and letters were received on the eve of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held on 18 June 1981,\*\* which discussed the party organization's tasks in the light of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's speech at the festivities in Tbilisi. This practice has been actively supported by the Georgian working people. It contributes to an improvement in the moral-political atmosphere in the labor collectives, the constant strengthening of the party's ties to the masses and the increased scientific substantiation of the adopted decisions. "Democratism and assertiveness," E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, said at the 26th Georgian Communist Party Congress, "are the two factors which activate and necessarily will activate a third factor--they will increase the responsibility of each person, responsibility not only for performance of one's own personal duties but also responsibility for the common cause, the work of the entire collective and the work of one's comrades and one's colleagues."\*\*\*

However, it is not everywhere that the party committees are struggling purposefully and consistently for an increase in the authority of the party decision as a political document and its quality and scientific substantiation. There are still instances of some party committees and organizations adopting hasty, ill-considered decisions which are far from always tied in with plans and financial and material resources and which are not properly developed, as a consequence of which they fail to have a salutary impact on an improvement in matters. Without having organized precise supervision of the fulfillment of an adopted decision, party committees sometimes adopt new ones, duplicating previous documents. "Unfortunately, not everyone has yet assimilated the simple truth," L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, "that the art of leadership does not consist of engendering and lavishing directive instructions on every occasion."\*\*\*\*

Thus during a conversation conducted by PRAVDA correspondents with party executives of Kuybyshev Oblast it was observed that in 1980 the Syzranskiy Gorkom had received 510 documents, many of which it was proposed be discussed at bureau meetings and plenums. "Duplication," V.P. Ivanov, first secretary of the gorkom, observed, "sometimes confuses all the plans locally and gives rise to formalism." But this same year the obkom received 523 documents and approximately 100 telegrams from ministries and departments alone. "Why are so many documents in circulation?" Ye.F. Murav'yev, first secretary of the obkom, asks. "Because, I believe, the comrades are frequently unwilling to assume personal responsibility. They overinsure.... A memorandum is sent, one is received.... Papers are smothered in official stamps and pass from body to body."\*\*\*\*\* Such an approach gives rise to the style of leadership which was termed at the 26th

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\* See "The Delegate Has Come to the Congress," Tbilisi, 1981, pp 11, 263.

\*\* See PRAVDA 20 June 1981.

\*\*\* E.A. Shevardnadze, "Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Report. Report to 26th Georgian Communist Party Congress on 22 January 1981," Tbilisi, 1981, p 146.

\*\*\*\* "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," pp 72-73.

\*\*\*\*\* PRAVDA 15 April 1981. .

party congress token leadership, which engenders inefficiency, bureaucratism and formalism.

Instructive experience in the surmounting of such shortcomings is taking shape in the Kiev city party organization. An analysis conducted by the gorkom of the 2,700 city raykom and primary party organization decrees adopted in 1979 showed that more than half of them were general and vague, which prevented the specific organization of supervision of their fulfillment. Many of the adopted decisions were prepared in haste, frequently unnecessarily duplicating the decrees of higher authorities.\* Having discussed in 1980 a Kiyevskiy Gorkom report on strengthening the organization and verification of the fulfillment of adopted decisions, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee outlined ways to remove these shortcomings. Tangible results soon appeared. The attitude toward the preparation of decisions changed. The number thereof declined, and the development of the decisions and their quality improved. They became more concrete and practicable. And this makes it possible to monitor their fulfillment more purposefully.\*\*

Information on the progress of the fulfillment of decisions adopted earlier has come to be received systematically: 9 raykoms and 12 party committees and primary organizations have already rendered account on this question in 18 months. All this is helping foster in the leaders, particularly communists, a sense of responsibility for the assigned task. The work style of many party committees, a characteristic feature of which has become assistance locally, has improved.

Furthermore, the importance of the consideration of the multi-aspectual nature of social development and ensuring the interaction of different factors, economic and social primarily, is becoming increasingly perceptible at the current stage of the Soviet society's development, when the reorganization of the entire system of social relations, including the material and spiritual spheres of life, is being completed. It is for this reason not fortuitous that the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers' decree on an improvement in the economic mechanism puts forward the demand that consolidated sections on an entire set of measures in the sphere of social development be incorporated in the plans of regions and enterprises. "It is necessary to ensure strict control," L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 26th CPSU Congress, "over the fact that the resources for the social development of enterprises, cities and villages be used precisely as intended, fully and within the specified times."\*\*\*

Valuable experience of a comprehensive approach to the accomplishment of tasks of economic and social development at all levels (region, sector, labor collective) has been accumulated in the Leningrad Oblast party organization. The uniform plan of the economic and social development of Leningrad and the oblast developed for the 11th Five-Year Plan, which incorporates realization within the framework of the region of over 40 all-union comprehensive programs

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\* See PRAVDA 17 January 1980.

\*\* See PRAVDA 28 October 1981.

\*\*\* "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 58.

and also programs of sectorial and territorial significance, is now being implemented successfully here. This work is united and directed by the Council of Economic and Social Development attached to the obkom. "One thing is clear," G. Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, writes, "and that is that each goal-oriented program must not only be thought out in depth and scientifically substantiated but also be under close party supervision."\*

Extension of the practice of socioeconomic planning advances the need for a refinement in the methodology and procedure of this process, the application to quantitative-qualitative indicators and scientific substantiation of the determination of the planned level of social development and the dynamics of the socio-ideological appearance of the collectives. Relatively stable procedures of social planning at collective level have been formulated in recent years, nor does the structure of the plans any longer give rise to fundamental disputes. However, the mechanism of this planning (principles, forms, methods, means and procedures) is in need of further improvement; the plan sections and such are in need of greater coordination, linkage and connection.

In the process of realizing a scientific approach it is important to ensure the continuity of experience and its creative use and development. "The framework of our plans and the scale and complexity of problems grow from year to year, and they have to be tackled on a new level and in a new way," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev observes in "Revival". "But it is essential here to take account of the very rich practice of the building of socialism and the historical experience of the party and the people's masses."\*\*

A scientific comprehension of accumulated experience and a creative attitude toward it and lessons learned from the past are an important condition of a refinement in the style of leadership. The scientific nature of party work cannot be ensured without the continuity of experience, the retention of everything positive and at the same time a renewal of the forms and methods dictated by the dynamism of life and the demands of the concrete situation. The point being that no principles, political aims and decisions operate of their own accord. They are realized through people's concrete actions, forms and methods of influence and concrete examples of the organization of matters. V.I. Lenin and the party have always posed the question of the correspondence of the forms and methods of work to the tasks that have been advanced, the content of the work and the demands of the situation. The creative style of the political leader, who is a synthesis of science and art, is displayed here to a considerable extent. "The living, developing organism of management of the economy cannot be adapted to settled, customary forms. On the contrary, the forms must be brought into line with the changing economic tasks,"\*\*\* the 26th CPSU Congress observed. This proposition applies not only to the sphere of economics but to any sphere of activity, including party activity, where a constant process of the renewal and refinement of forms on the basis of the continuity of

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\* PRAVDA 4 August 1981.

\*\* L.I. Brezhnev, "Lenin's Way. Speeches, Greetings, Articles and Reminiscences," vol 7, Moscow, 1979, p 68.

\*\*\* "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," p 51.

experience, the retention of all that is positive and its creative enrichment is under way.

Increasingly great significance in a study of the processes of reality and party work and its results is attached to sociological research, which is an important source of information. It helps the party organizations ensure "feedback," that is, determine the fruitfulness of organizational and ideological measures, obtaining the necessary information on various processes and phenomena, reveal contradictory points, catch the mood of the masses, take their requirements into account more fully and evaluate in greater depth the consequences of this political act or the other. Currently approximately 100 party committees (from republic through rayon)\* have sociological formations operating on a public-service basis conducting polls and other research on various questions of party life. Great experience of sociological research and the use of its results for an improvement in the activity of the party organizations has been accumulated in Moscow. Thus the Council for the Study of the Social Development of Labor Collectives and Public Opinion under the auspices of the Oktyabr'skiy Raykom has studied a number of problems, particularly measures to step up the struggle against antisocial phenomena in the production collectives and the state of ideological-educational work among the scientific-technical intelligentsia. The material obtained was used at the time of the preparation of plenums and meetings of party-economic activists and raykom bureau sessions and the formulation of a comprehensive plan of measures for an intensification of the struggle for high labor discipline and moral purity at industrial enterprises and in construction organizations of the rayon and a long-term (for the 11th 5-year period) plan of ideological work and current plans of raykom departments and a scientific-practical conference of the rayon's scientists.

"Sociological research together with other methods," T.P. Arkhipova and V.F. Sbytov emphasize, "helps the party committees study the concrete mechanism of the effect of this objective law of social development or the other with reference to given social ideological processes and phenomena occurring in an oblast, city, rayon and collective."\*\*

A big role in the implementation of a scientific approach is performed by the theoretical training, practical qualifications and competence of party committee members and party workers. Speaking of the demands made on managerial work (and this applies to the work of the party machinery also), V.I. Lenin advanced the task of mastery of the art thereof: instruction in efficient work methods, the rational organization of labor, the correct assignment of duties and an in-depth study of the principles of the science of management, office work, progressive experience and such.\*\*\*

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\* See T.P. Arkhipova, V.F. Sbytov, "Questions of the Theory and Practice of Political Leadership. Experience of the Activity of a Raykom," Moscow, 1981, p 259.

\*\* Op. cit., p 255.

\*\*\* See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 45, pp 389-406.

A scientific approach presupposes the knowledge and use in party work of the latest achievements of many branches of science and the entire sum of contemporary knowledge related to social and sociopolitical activity and the formation of the new man. The party workers' attention to a study of modern management methods, organization theory and the introduction of elements of the scientific organization of labor has increased particularly now.

The party leader cannot be equally competent in all spheres of social life. For this reason ensuring the scientific level of party leadership has required the more extensive and systematic enlistment in the work of the party authorities (in public councils, commissions, temporary problem-solving groups and others) of scientists, specialists, labor pacesetters and persons who are highly competent in this sphere or the other. This is enriching the content and level of party recommendations. More than 180 special centers and laboratories of the scientific organization of labor, in which more than 16,000 scientists and specialists are employed, are operating in the country currently. However, the practical results from this work are still few, which requires the increased attention of the party authorities to this area of managerial activity.\*

Much is being done in the party committees with respect to the rational organization of the labor of workers of the party machinery. Thus work regulations have been developed and measures are being adopted for an improvement in office work, better use of the work time of party machinery workers and such in many committees. For example, the Tula Obkom has adopted the special decree "Regulating Sessions and Meetings in the Oblast and Further Improving the Style and Methods of Work". In the course of its realization the number of various meetings, quick briefings and planning sessions has declined and a definite system in the holding of meetings has been introduced. Now all meetings are held in the second half of the day, and the time spent on them is held to a minimum. Days of the week on which meetings at various levels--oblast, city, in the labor collectives and others--are held have been determined. It has been recommended that managers and specialists working in the labor collectives be summoned to the higher authorities only after two in the afternoon. These and many others measures are contributing to ensuring that the workers of the machinery of the party authorities have a chance to visit the labor collectives more often and perform organizational-political and educational work among the working people directly.\*\*

Interesting and instructive experience of a rise in the scientific substantiation of work has been accumulated in the Kherson Oblast party organization. Scientific-practical conferences are held here regularly. Great assistance in the study and collation of the practice of party work is being rendered by the organizational-party work councils and procedural offices. In 1980 they operated in 16 (out of 23) gorkoms and raykoms. The party committees pay particular attention to the correct allocation and rational use of the work time of the party personnel. Study of the practice of its use has shown that the machinery workers have sometimes performed the functions of "fixers" in respect of

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\* See PRAVDA 16 September 1980.

\*\* See PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' No 18, 1981, p 44.

economic and supply questions and engaged in the preparation of various references. As a result they have not always had time for analytical work and the interpretation of a huge flow of information and have not had a chance to investigate its essence and objectivity properly, compare possible recommendation or decision alternatives and express themselves in favor of the expediency and substantiation of the adoption of the conclusive alternative.

The functional duties of executives have now been precisely determined in the obkom departments. Each of them draws up a work plan for the year which also takes account of questions of supplementing the personal store of knowledge, ideological growth and intellectual enrichment. Machinery workers have been given a chance to study and collate in greater depth the material of oblast and local organizations and spend a considerable amount of time in the rayons and primary organizations. Uniform regulations governing the work of leading party, state and public authorities compiled with regard for proposals from the localities have been drawn up and introduced.\*

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\* See KOMMUNIST UKRAINY No 2, 1979, pp 52-53.



## NATIONAL

### OBKOM SECRETARY ON SUPERVISION OF AGRICULTURAL SPECIALISTS

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 22, Nov 82 pp 18-23 carries a 3,800-word article titled "The Food Program and Cadres Policy" by V. Makarenko, first secretary of the Crimean oblast party committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. Makarenko describes his efforts to increase communication between party committees and local specialists and calls on the former to take the ideas of the latter into consideration when they issue directives.

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### COMPUTER SYSTEM USED TO IMPROVE PARTY CONTROL

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 22, Nov 82 pp 23-28 carries a 3,800-word article titled "We Put Into Practice the Decisions of the Party" by G. Bartoshevich, first secretary of the Minsk city party committee. Bartoshevich describes the introduction of the "Rhythm" automated information system in his city and argues that it helps the party committee to check up on the implementation of its decisions. At the same time, he warns against any attempt "to exaggerate the role of technical means" in this area.

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### STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS OF AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENTS IN RAYON PARTY COMMITTEES

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 22, Nov 82 pp 29-41 carries three articles under the rubric "The Agricultural Department of the Rayon Party Committee": a 4,200-word article titled "The Organization of the Work of the Department" by F. Ivankov, a 2,200-word article titled "We Both Control and Help" by L. Loginov, and a 2,800-word article titled "Generalizing New Experience" by K. Turgumbayev. The articles describe the structure and functions of these institutions and stress the contribution they have made in the areas where they exist to the implementation of the party's agricultural program.

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## PRINCIPLES OF SELECTION, TRAINING OF CADRES REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 22, Nov 82 pp 42-50 carries a 5,600-word article titled "Principles of the Selection, Placement, and Training of Cadres, The 26th CPSU Congress on the Improvement of the Qualitative Composition of Leading Cadres" by V. Legostayev. Published under the rubric "Schools of Young Communists," the article describes recent party decisions on improving the quality of leading cadres by tightening up selection and increasing training.

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## DETAILS ON SOVIET PHILOSOPHY CONFERENCE

[Editorial Report] Moscow FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 151-154 carries a 3,400-word article titled "The Third Congress of the Philosophical Society of the USSR" by G. V. Karamyshev. The article provides details on this conference which was held in Moscow on 24-25 March 1982. According to the article, this conference devoted particular attention to the development of the foreign contacts of Soviet philosophers. A number of scholars stressed "the necessity of strengthening ties with philosophical societies of other countries. The article provides a list of all participants.

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## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH MINISTER OF HEALTH ON REPUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 82 p 2

[Interview with Kazakh SSR Health Minister M A Aliyev by D Farber: "The People's Health Is Our Main Wealth"]

[Text] [Question] Two months ago, the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR enacted the decree "Additional Measures for Enhancing the Health Care of the Population." Sufficient time has passed for the proposals of this important document to have been thoroughly thought out and reinforced by concrete plans and actions.

Mukhtar Aliyevich, what are the prospects for improving medical aid in Kazakhstan?

[Answer] Our republic is marshalling sufficient resources to achieve the new tasks of health service. A powerful material-technical base has been established: around 1,700 hospitals and more than 2,400 out-patient polyclinics, and more than 1,200 rural district hospitals and out-patient clinics. Almost 50,000 doctors, more than 155,000 mid-level medical personnel--an impressive detachment of medics stands guard over the people's health. In the majority of rayons, medical aid in 12 specialities is available.

Disease prevention is being improved and the quality of the clinic system has improved for patients with hypertension and cardio-vascular and gastrointestinal diseases. Now preventive medical examinations cover invalids and participants in the Great Patriotic War, students in secondary specialized schools and vocational schools, machine operators and so on. A gradual transition is being made to full, universal clinic coverage.

Special importance attaches to the primary health care components. A necessary condition and first stage in improving territorial services is to break up districts into smaller units. By the end of the current year the number of people in one therapeutic district will drop to a republic-wide average of 2,000 persons; those in pediatric districts will decrease to 800. This means that the time per visit per patient will increase, and doctors can pay more attention to disease prevention and clinic practice.

The out-patient clinics and polyclinics are adopting progressive forms of services: self-registration and pre-registration all days of the week, information offices, pharmaceutical data offices, and pharmacy outlets.

Of course, naturally, much still remains to be done to further enhance the effectiveness of health services and the quality of medical aid, as the decree of the party and the government calls for.

In the current five-year plan the capacity of out-patient polyclinic establishments will increase by 24,100 visits per shift; available hospital beds will increase.

Large polyclinics will organize rehabilitative treatment departments for patients with cardio-vascular diseases, injuries, and orthopedic and neurological disorders. The network of consultative diagnostic polyclinics at scientific research institutes and based in large hospitals will be expanded, also polyclinics for preventive examinations for workers in schools, pre-school child care institutions, food enterprises, and in the trade.

Specialized forms of medical aid and maternity and child protection services will be developed further.

[Question] How is rural health care being developed?

[Answer] Our republic has achieved notable results in medical services for rural inhabitants. But there are still a number of problems.

People in the villages are not always able to get timely, qualified medical aid because population centers are scattered, the village populations are small or because of a weak material base of treatment facilities and a shortage of cadres.

For the organization of medical aid at the present level and for making it maximally available to the rural population, extensive use is now made of mobile forms of services. There are 68 mobile out-patient clinics, 44 clinical diagnostic laboratories, 120 disinfection units, and 39 stomatological facilities. We intend to develop this type of services further.

Considerable man-power and resources are being channeled into the development of the material-technical base of rural health care. The current five-year plan calls for constructing and introducing 22 central rayon hospitals and 320 out-patient clinics.

Every year, no less than 1,700 doctors--graduates of VUZes--are being sent to the villages. However, the growth rate of medical cadres here is still not very high.

The adoption of the district principle of service is unacceptably slow in rural rayon centers, the majority of which have not organized territorial districts.

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers pointed out the necessity of completing, in 1985, the organizing of first aid service in rural rayons.

Scientific-research institutes are geared toward an intensification of research connected with rural health care: the study of sickness rate, of its particular tendencies, and improving diagnosis and treatment.

It is necessary to make special mention of the substantial and important role played by health care workers, especially rural, in fulfilling the USSR Food Program, adopted at the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The medical workers of the republic were gratified by the decision to give sovkhoz and other agricultural enterprise officials the right to offer material incentives to medical personnel of district hospitals, rural out-patient clinics and medical-assistant-attended obstetric stations who achieve improvement in the work of guarding the people's health.

The health care organs are taking steps to retain medical cadres in the villages: traveling acceptance commissions are being sent out in areas most in need of cadre physicians, with subsequent assignment of the graduates to these same areas: at least 50 percent of those accepted into the medical schools are village young people.

[Question] Mukhtar Aliyevich, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree states that the republics are not fully implementing integrated plans of sanitation and health measures. To what extent does this criticism apply to Kazakhstan?

[Answer] In recent years considerable funds have been spent and substantial efforts have been made to improve sanitation-hygienic conditions of the people's labor, daily life, schooling, and rest, and environmental protection. Sanitary water conditions have also become more strict. "Organized" discharge of waste water into the Ishim, the Tobol, the Ural, the Ili, and the Caspian and Aral seas has been eliminated. The air in the cities and industrial centers has become cleaner.

Nevertheless, as this decree rightly and correctly states, we are still far from being completely well off in this matter. Not all ministries and departments are fulfilling integrated sanitation-health plans; this is especially true of the republic's Ministry of Agriculture.

In the lay-out and development of rural population centers, and the erection of livestock complexes, there is a considerable lag in the construction of water lines and sewer and treatment facilities; this increases the danger of spreading intestinal and zoonanthropous infections.

No less applicable to us are the decree's statements about failure to meet targets on time with respect to the construction of health care projects. For example, some contracting organizations subordinate to the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises and the Ministry of Rural Construction exceed by two or three times normative time-tables for putting medical facilities into operation. Thus, the Karaganda Rehabilitative Treatment Hospital took 9 years to build; the Ust'-Kamenogorsk hospital took 8 instead of 3.

The Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry are not focusing enough attention on the construction of treatment facilities using their own resources.

On the whole, however, the ministries, departments, state enterprises, trade unions, and other social organizations, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, are constantly helping the treatment-preventive institutions. In 1980-1982 alone they allocated more than 21,000 rubles for the acquisition of medical equipment. In 1982-1985, sovkhoz and kolkhoz funds are to be used to open 320 rural out-patient clinics. Unquestionably, this kind of practice should become common.

[Question] You were talking about the material equipping and organization of health care and the adoption of progressive forms of medical services. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree mentions one other important factor: work with medical cadres. As in the documents of the 26th Congress, the party has deemed it necessary once more to condemn cases where medical personnel have violated their duties, and has directed that more care be taken to meet the housing and service needs of medical personnel and raise the level of their professional training.

[Answer] Unfortunately, complaints about physicians' incompetence or their forgetting their ethical and professional duties are all too frequent; these complaints come in to the local health care organs and to the ministry; from time to time we receive critical signals from newspaper editors requesting a probe into one or another situation of conflict.

Each instance that evokes dissatisfaction requires the most thorough, in-depth study. Under all conditions, discourtesy and inattentive and insensitive treatment of the patient--and especially the abuse of one's position for purposes of greed--deserve strictest censure and other measures.

Each collective of a treatment-preventive institution must create an atmosphere which rules out violations of medical ethics and deontology. Much depends on the general style of work of the institution. Any of its components, starting with registration, must function precisely, oriented exclusively toward the patient's interests. It is well known that card losses, long reception lines to see the doctor in polyclinics, and rude personnel in the hospitals substantially impair the effectiveness of the treatment. Humanism and the active concern about each patient--these are the noblest traditions of Soviet medicine, which must be supported.

Divisions of people's health care must strive to ensure the treatment facilities deal uncompromisingly with shortcomings and instill in each medical worker a consciousness of his humane mission in society.

At the same time, physicians also expect constant concern for themselves. In many places, medical workers are not provided with housing space; this is one cause for cadre turnover. The ministry receives letters from physicians and mid-level personnel with complaints about unsatisfactory living, consumer, and production conditions. It is instructive to look at the example of those sovkhoz, kolkhoz, and enterprise officials whose concern for medical workers constitutes an essential facet of social development programs.

Society has an interest in ensuring that the activities of medical workers are wholly subordinated to a concern for the health of the Soviet people, for extending their full, active, creative lives. This is the thrust of the decree adopted by the party and government.

12255

CSO: 1830/55

## REGIONAL

### CAUCASUS CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC OPINION AND PARTY COMMITTEES

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 4 Nov 82 p 2

[Text] Problems of a further improvement in work on the study of public opinion, the mood of the masses and the acute questions troubling people were at the center of the attention of participants in a 2-day scientific-practical conference of party committee secretaries of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan organized by the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department. It continued on 3 November in the Baku Higher Party School.

The paper "From the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Experience of Work on Study of Public Opinion and the Mood of the Masses" was delivered by N.Sh. Endeladze, chief of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department.

The speech of Kirovabadskiy Gorkom Secretary Sh.I. Suleymanov was devoted to the experience of sociological research and the study of public opinion on the effectiveness of ideological-educational work of the cultural-educational establishments. The raykom's activity in leadership of the mass information and propaganda media in the study of public opinion was described in his speech by Gardabanskiy Raykom Secretary I.V. Chelidze. The speech of N.A. Ogandzhanyan, head of a department of the Leninskanskiy Gorkom, was devoted to the practice of the priority briefing of lecturers, propagandists, rapporteurs, agitators, political information workers and other workers of the ideological front. A lecture on the Soviet Union's international position was delivered to the conferees by R.V. Borisov, counselor-expert of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The results of the session were summed up by A.F. Dashdamirov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department.

Recommendations were adopted for an increase in the efficiency of ideological-educational work and an improvement in the activity of services for the organization of sociological research for ascertaining and using public opinion.

The conferees visited the Leninskiy, Oktyabr'skiy, imeni 26 bakinskikh komissarov, Shaumyanovskiy, Mizaminskiy and Narimanovskiy raykoms, where they familiarized themselves with the experience of the study of the working people's public opinion. Meetings of the sections on the themes "Consideration of Public Opinion and the Practice of the Reorganization of Ideological Work," "Party Leadership of the Activity of the Mass Media in the Study and Formation of Public Opinion,"



"Mass-Political Work as a Means of Ascertaining Public Opinion and the Working People's Frame of Mind," "Priority Briefing of Ideological Activists as a Means of Purposefully Influencing Public Opinion," "An Analysis and Collation of the Problems Raised in Letters and Questions Put to Lecturers as a Channel of Improving the Study of Public Opinion" and "Study of Public Opinion in the Practice of Party Work" were held here. Approximately 50 speeches were received in the sections altogether.

At the request of an Azerinform correspondent the results of the conference were described by N.K. Golovko, leader of a lecturer group of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department.

An important front of the struggle for communism is ideological and political-educational work, he said. And a principal direction of its further improvement is the consideration and use in the practical activity of the party committees of public opinion and the mood of the masses.

Close attention to public opinion and reliance thereon in the formulation of forward plans and the adoption of important decisions have always been typical of our party. New forms of influencing public opinion have been determined, a powerful system of briefing of the population has taken shape and feedback channels via which the working people's interests are expressed have been formed in the period of mature socialism. The conferees shared the experience accumulated by the Georgian, Azerbaijan and Armenian party committees and described the use in the practice of party work of different forms and methods of the study of public opinion, particularly sociological research and polling of the citizens, which have become most widespread in recent years.

I would like particularly to mention that the authority and content of our conference were raised immeasurably by the striking and profound speech of G.A. Aliyev, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

We note with great satisfaction that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, taking account of the tremendous practical significance of the systematic study of public opinion, has created sociological services under the auspices of party and state authorities and the biggest public organizations, enterprises and establishments. Under the leadership of the coordinating body--the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research under the auspices of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee--research has been conducted into the development of the socialist way of life, an increase in work efficiency and quality, an improvement in ideological and political-educational work among the working people and the inculcation in them of high moral qualities, an active position in life and an irreconcilable attitude toward shortcomings. The working people's opinion of certain most important decisions of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has also been studied. All this has played an important part in the reorganization of ideological and organizational work and contributed to the development of democratic principles in management and the increased political and labor assertiveness of the working people in the struggle for fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the tasks put forward by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. A wealth

of experience has been accumulated by the Georgian and Armenian party organizations. However, in terms of the country as a whole, the conferees observed, many party, soviet and economic-planning authorities and public organizations are not yet displaying sufficient concern for the study and mobilization of public opinion. A purposeful, scientific approach is not always ensured in this important work, and amateurishness in the choice of subject matter of the research and the processing of the material obtained is sometimes present, which leads to simplistic conclusions and ineffective recommendations.

This is why the recommendations adopted by the conference outline measures for the extensive use of the practical experience of the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Party central committees in the study of public opinion and the use of the results obtained for an improvement in the organization of educational work among the working people, the introduction of a Leninist style of leadership in the activity of the party, soviet and economic-planning authorities and a strengthening of their ties to the masses.

All the conferees were hugely impressed by the splendid successes and the big changes which have taken place in recent years in the life of the Azerbaijan SSR. And not only in the development of the economy, in which Azerbaijan is one of the best in the country, but also in the spiritual sphere and people's consciousness. We sensed the participation and great interest of the workers in the large-scale work being performed by the republic party organization.

In conclusion N.K. Golovko expressed confidence that the conference would contribute to a further improvement in the ideological and political-educational work of the party committees in implementation of the historic designs of the 26th CPSU Congress.

8850

CSO: 1830/73

## REGIONAL

### KIRGHIZ TAX ON CHILDLESS COUPLES PROTESTED

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 31 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Kirghiz SSR Deputy Minister of Finance T. Kempirbayev: "Tax on Childlessness"]

[Text] "Through no fault of our own, my husband and I have no children. We can produce medical documents confirming this. However, the tax on childlessness is being imposed on us. We consider this unjust. In our case, the accounting office is obviously violating existing regulations on the withholding of this tax. Which ones?

Mr and Mrs G.

A persons life falls into three fairly clearly defined periods. First his parents raise and educate him. Then he goes to work, helps his father and mother in his turn, and looks after his children. Then in old age his own children take care of him. Nowadays, when the government has taken on many of the functions of educating children and providing for the elderly and disabled, this mutual pact of obligation and benefit between the generations has been obscured, for some people. "I don't depend on my children, I earned my own pension," another elderly man says proudly. Come on now! He is dependent. For the children raise grain, plant orchards, build roads, receive you into the hospital, provide heat and water to your home--the children, the generation raised by the generation that went before. Without them, the well-earned right to a pension and many other social benefits simply could not be realized.

To raise the succeeding generation--that is man's duty, an honored, difficult, and binding duty. And if for some reason or other a family has no children, it must assist those parents who are raising a number of future workers: for themselves, for those who have not reared a new citizen, for society.

The tax on childlessness (six percent of earnings) comprises a small portion of the funds that society and the government spend to help families with many children. It is levied on able-bodied childless men from 20 to 50 years old, and on legally married women from 20 to 45 years old. Exempt from it are invalids of the first and second groups and their spouses. Also exempt are those serving a regular or extended military term, cadets and students of military training institutions who do not have officer status, military construction workers, and the wives of all the above. Day students in secondary specialized schools and VUZes do not pay until age 25.

Certificates from medical establishments attesting to citizens' inability to bear children for health reasons do not give them the right to exemption from this tax.

12255  
CSO: 1830/48

## REGIONAL

### USUBALIYEV PUBLISHES BOOK ON SOVIET INTERNATIONALISM

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 2 Nov 82 p 1

[Unattributed KirTAG report: "Enhancing the Soviet Way of Life--The Party's Most Important Business"]

[Text] Kirghiz CP Central Committee First Secretary T.U. Usubaliyev's book "Rukovodyashchaya rol' KPSS v ukreplenii yedinstva internatsional'nogo i natsional'nogo v sovetskom sotsialisticheskom obraze zhizni" [The Guiding Role of the CPSU in Strengthening the Unity of the International and the National in the Soviet Socialist Way of Life] has just been published.

The monograph gives a scientific elucidation of the essence and patterns of the rise and development of the Soviet way of life, in light of the teachings of the Marxist-Leninist classics, the postulates and conclusions contained in the documents of the CPSU, in the works of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and other party leaders. It comprehensively unfolds the theoretical and practical activity of the Communist Party in organizing and enhancing this form--new in mankind's history--of society's vital activity.

On the basis of generalizing the achievements of the USSR's 60-year development, and using abundant factual material from the life of Kirghizia and the other fraternal republics, the author gives a profound analysis of the dialectics of the Soviet socialist way of life, in harmony with the consolidation of the radically new social and international community of people--the Soviet people. He investigates questions of the Party's increased role in strengthening the international and the national in conjunction with the practice of the building of communism, and with the concrete tasks of the Soviet five-year plans. He emphasizes that the overriding importance which the CPSU attaches to the enhancement of the Soviet way of life is conditioned primarily by the needs of our country's internal development, the necessity of making maximal use of the historical advantages of developed socialism, as well as the aggravation of the ideological struggle in the international arena. The book presents a broad reflection of the struggle of the Kirghiz CP--one of the fighting contingents of the CPSU--for the consolidation and development of the socialist way of life, for the practical implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism in the political, economic, and spiritual spheres; it shows the historical achievements of the Kirghiz people in transforming social relations based on socialist and communist foundations.

Examining the multiplicity of concrete manifestations of the Soviet way of life, the author gives a detailed characterization of its most important feature--the indissoluble friendship, the brotherly cooperation, and the mutual aid of the nations of the USSR. The book devotes great attention to the ties binding the international and the national in the sphere of the economic activity of the Soviet people, and to an explanation of the basic factors which safeguard the correct balance between the economic interests of the Soviet people as a whole and those of each of the nations and nationalities which form it.

A substantial portion of the book is given over to the socio-political aspects of the Soviet way of life. Based on Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of the working class as the leading force in the internationalization of social life, the book generalizes questions on strengthening the social unity of the Soviet people and all the nations and nationalities which make it up; it solidly substantiates the intensification of the CPSU's guiding and directing role in resolving a broad spectrum of tasks relating to the enhancement of the Soviet way of life and the strengthening of the organic unity of the international and national within it; it points out the place that other components of our society's political system have in this endeavor.

The monograph gives a painstaking analysis of the importance of the spiritual sphere in the development of the socialist way of life, the strengthening of which is predetermined by the working people's ever more profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The author presents the most important methodological principles of disclosing the correlation between lifestyle and spiritual culture; he shows convincingly how the new society leads to the flourishing and drawing together of national cultures, and the embodiment of the values of the Soviet people's way of life in a unified socialist culture. From a consistently class standpoint, the author makes plain the place that the socialist way of life occupies in the contemporary ideological struggle.

The book focuses attention on the new tasks of development of the Soviet way of life which confront party and social organizations and all the working people of the republic, in connection with the implementation of the historic decisions of the 26th party congress, the May 1982 plenum of the CC CPSU, and the Food Program.

The book was published by Kyrgyzstan Publishing House in Russian in mass printing.

12255  
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## REGIONAL

### LITHUANIAN, ESTONIAN OFFICIALS CRITICIZED FOR LARGE MILK LOSSES

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 82 p 2

/Article by A. Frolov, IZVESTIYA special correspondent: "The Lost Tons: From a Session of the USSR People's Control Committee"/

/Text/ Persons are summoned here, to 21 Kuybyshev Street, not to be handed diplomas, nor, let's say, to show samples of new items, but rather to answer for shortcomings in their work, which have been the consequence of negligence, carelessness, inaccuracy, and most often--mismanagement, a tendency to replace work by talks.

The first problem was examined. In the minutes it is designated as follows: "Concerning Large Losses of Milk, Buttermilk, and Whey at a Number of Enterprises of the LiSSR Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry and the ESSR Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry." I knew that the enterprises of these republics have a high level of production standards. As a rule, they turn out high-quality products. And now just look at what we have here!

The defendants entered the hall where the Committee's sessions are held: the LiSSR Minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry, Mariyonas Vladovich Buklis, the ESSR Deputy Minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry, Yuriy Rudol'fovich Kenn, the director of the Payde Dairy Combine--Yaan Aleksandrovich Kyazer, and that of Pylvas--Tiyt Rudol'fovich Kyukhkna.

I have read the materials of the Committee's check-up on the problem under examination. Each example is more alarming than the previous one. Complete minuses.... Just at 10 of the dairy combines and plants of these republics which were checked out last year and during the first half of this year thousands of tons of dairy products were lost.... And at the Mazheysk Creamery Plant (in the LiSSR) in August of last year quite a bit of cream went down the drain. The cause of this was a defective products pipeline and the use of equipment without waiting for the proper interval.

Minister M. V. Buklis is not directly to blame in this case: he did not give out the orders, and it is not up to him to track down the defects of a pipeline in a creamery plant. But a leading official has the obligation to be responsible not only for himself but also for what his subordinates do. The principal person guilty in this matter is the plant director, A. Andryushkyavichyus.

But the following fact is completely on the conscience of M. V. Buklis. It was from his area of responsibility within the sector that in the production of curds [cottage cheese] norms for cheese losses were used which were 1.5--2 times higher than those established by the Union ministry. For this and for "not adopting measures to prevent losses of skim milk and buttermilk" the USSR People's Control Committee held M. V. Buklis responsible.

Deputy Minister of the ESSR Meat and Dairy Industry Yu. R. Kenn, who, as stated in the check-up materials, "passively accepted the facts of large losses of skim milk, buttermilk, and whey at the sub-departmental enterprises, did not organize the necessary work to improve their utilization, and did not hold strictly responsible those persons who were allowing mismanagement and wastefulness," has also been punished.

Deputy USSR Minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry Yu. S. Sokolov also had to bear responsibility. The ministry exercised poor monitoring controls over the work of the republican ministries. In the ESSR alone during a year and a half the enterprises which were checked up on extravagantly wasted a considerable amount of raw material. And the plan for deliveries of dried, de-fatted products was fulfilled by only 75 percent.

Though it did issue orders on improving matters at the enterprises, the Union ministry did not follow up on how they were being carried out. Hence, also the big lapses in the performance of the enterprises.

The Committee directed Yu. S. Sokolov's attention to these shortcomings. Notice was taken of his declaration that the ministry would take measures to eliminate the shortcomings disclosed by the check-up.

The Committee imposed strict penalties on the leading officials of the enterprises. And this is understandable. At the Pylvask Dairy Combine raw materials and products have been lost in many production sections. Thus, in the apparatus workshop in five of the twelve separators, due to the non-hermetic sealing of the drum packing, during the processing of raw material, skim milk [usable waste] has been poured down the drain together with the wash water. In the workshops where the milk is dried at four out of five drying units the required temperature cycles have not been maintained while the product is being dried. As a result, a large amount of the dried milk goes to waste or is thrown out into the atmosphere. And the persons responsible for inflicting this material damage have not been brought to bear their responsibility.

Here too, as analysis of the production reports has shown, it has been established that, because of unsatisfactory organization of the accounts, poor monitoring controls over the operations of the production workshops on the part of the technical services, and a reduction of the material responsibilities of persons charged with maintaining laboratory data on the dried materials in the skim milk, losses of this product amounting to several hundred tons were discovered last year. For these same reasons in the section engaged in butter production approximately 50 tons of milk fat were registered as losses without any justifiable grounds. The blame is great, and the combine's director, T. R. Kyukhkna, has been punished more harshly.



Nor do matters stand any better at the Paydesk Dairy Combine. As the check-up has shown this enterprise is not utilizing its existing potentials for increasing product output. The combine has a low level of production organization. In the milk-drying workshop, for example, defective equipment is being used. The cyclone-separator-traps of the powder-like mass are operating inefficiently. Hence, the large product losses. But the director of the Paydesk Combine, Ya. A. Kyaer, instead of waging the necessary struggle to economize on raw material and mobilize the enterprise's group for this matter, overstated the established norms for outlays on turning out the finished product. A monetary fine has been imposed on Ya. A. Kyaer.

The reader may rightfully inquire: what punishment was imposed on the director of the Mazheyksk Creamery Plant, A. Andryushkyavichyus? He has been strictly punished by the LiSSR Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry.

Characteristic of the work of all the enterprises mentioned here is mismanagement and violations of production discipline. Is it really necessary to have some kind of special instructions and stipulations so that milk does not spill out through the pouring apparatus and the stopcocks? Not to mention the fact that at several creamery plants this valuable product is spilled out over the machinery casings and the floors.

In summing up, it may be said that the leading officials of the above-mentioned enterprises and ministries did not draw the necessary conclusions from the demands of the party and the government regarding more economical utilization of foodstuff raw materials. As a result, a considerable amount of nutritional products from the foodstuff resources has been excluded.

Also deserving a reprimand are the public organizations, including the people's control groups at the creamery plants. Is it possible that they really did not see these shortcomings? They saw them, but, as the facts testify, they passed them by. Something like this could only occur as a result of action not being taken, an attitude which states: "that is no concern of ours."

In their work the people's inspectors must always be guided by Article 18 of the Law on People's Control in the USSR, which states the following: "To be a people's inspector is a great honor and a meritorious duty. By his own activity every people's inspector must justify the trust which has been placed in him, be demanding and principled when it is a matter of protecting state and public interests; he must constantly manifest concern for conserving and multiplying the people's property, show an example of industriousness, a high degree of awareness, along with the qualities of good organization and discipline.

And a final point. Analysis of the problem in the Committee has prompted us to the thought that in places where matters are mismanaged, in a slipshod manner, that is where lapses occur in the work. In order to eliminate them, we must increase the responsibility of the enterprises' leading officials and that of the public organizations.

2384

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## REGIONAL

### UMAKHANOV REJECTS 'MECHANICAL' ASSIGNMENT OF SLOTS BY NATIONALITY

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 18, Sep 82 pp 28 - 33

[Article by M. - S. Umakhanov, first secretary of the CPSU Dagestani obkom: "The Selection, Assignment and Indoctrination of Personnel in a Multinational Republic"]

[Excerpts] The party's personnel policy has a consistently internationalist character. This is manifested in all the aspects of indoctrinational work with the people. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Party Organizations in the Georgian SSR in Preparing for the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" is inducing us to improve the structure of party organizations and the assignment of communists, raise their vanguard role in production and in public life, and consider the national composition of the population when regulating the growth in party ranks, forming electoral party and state bodies and promoting personnel to directing work in order to strengthen the party's influence on the decisive sectors in production.

The task of training personnel of all nationalities is being carried out on the basis of socialist principles which are incompatible with any manifestations of national distinctions and reticence whatsoever and with nationalistic prejudices. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech during the festivities in the city of Tashkent pointed out: "... We must strive to have the nations and nationalities of each republic represented in its party and state bodies in the necessary way -- of course, with a strict consideration of the business, ideological and moral qualities of each individual".

A careful consideration of the interests and needs of each nation and nationality, their organic combination with the interests of the Soviet people as a whole, and the joining of the efforts of the workers to solve the urgent tasks in the development of our society -- all this is at the center of the party obkom's attention.

The climate of national relations does not depend lastly on how the people, who inhabit the republic, are represented in its state body's, including the higher ones. This is acquiring special significance for Dagestan with its multinational composition of people. Here are several examples which demonstrate how this problem, which is a very important one for the republic, is being solved.

All party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol bodies are multinational in their composition. There are representatives from more than 50 nations and nationalities among the republic's leading workers.

All nations and nationalities, which live in Dagestan, are represented in the highest body of state authority in the republic -- the Dagestan ASSR Supreme Soviet. This permits their interests to be thoroughly considered.

Representatives of many nationalities are also among the secretaries of the CPSU raykoms and gorkoms, the workers on the staffs of party and soviet bodies, the directors of enterprises, and the directors of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Personifying the unity and fraternal cooperation of the peoples of our socialist motherland, all of them are directing the efforts of the collectives toward a single goal -- the successful fulfillment of the tasks which are being put forward by the party.

For example, the assignment of personnel in Kizlyarskiy Rayon is typical in this respect. Here, Russians, Avars, Dargins, Nogays, Tabasarans, Armenians, and Ukrainians head the kolkhoz and sovkhoz collectives. There are representatives of 17 nationalities among the 126 chief specialists on the rayon's farms. There are representatives from 15 nationalities in the composition of the party raykom and the rayon council of people's deputies. Not only the majority of rayons but also the work collectives, trade union and Komsomol organizations and all the ministries and departments of the republic are multinational in their composition.

When promoting a candidate to some post or other, his business, ideological and moral qualities are primarily considered. Sh. Mamedov, a representative of the small Tsakhur nationality which numbers all told a little more than 4,500 people, has headed the republic's Ministry of Agriculture for many years; candidate of pedagogical science Yu. Bigayev, an Agul-- the number of this nationality is less than 12,000 people -- directs the Dagestan ASSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade. I would like to emphasize that the consideration of national composition when selecting and assigning personnel does not at all mean that this or that post is "allotted" to a certain nationality. It cannot be a mechanical "distribution of slots".

Dagestan sends doctors, agronomists and engineers to many republics and oblasts. Quite a few hydroconstruction personnel, land reclamation specialists, geologists, oil industry workers, and other specialists come to us from throughout the country. Such complicated and large-scale tasks as the construction of the cascade for the hydroelectric stations on the Sulak River in a short time, the creation of industrial complexes, and the great deal of resort construction which is taking place on the banks of the Caspian, could not have been solved by us using only our own sources and only through the efforts of our own specialists. The successful solution of these tasks is being assured by the economic potential of the Russian Federation and of the entire Soviet Union.

In order to illustrate the distinctive features of the exchange of specialists, I will cite an example from the field of training medical personnel. Young men and women of more than 50 nationalities are studying in the Dagestan Medical Institute. At the beginning of the century, there were all told only nine doctors in the nine okrugs of Dagestan, but now the medical VUZ is preparing doctors not only for Dagestan but also for the other republics of the North Caucasus and for 16 oblasts in the Russian Federation. Graduates of our higher educational institutions are working in 47 of the country's republics, krays and oblasts. Specialists are being trained in the Dagestanskiy State University imeni V. I. Lenin for the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

What were the so-called "cultural foreign ties" of the Dagestani in the past? Was it really a pilgrimage to Mecca? In the search for income, the Lak craftsmen, Kubachin goldsmiths and the Untsukul woodworkers were forced to wander over many countries of Europe, Asia and America.

Today, our ancestors would be amazed if they knew what a widespread reputation Dagestan had acquired both in near and in remote countries. The Avar poet appears in Japan, the Lak composer performs his works in Mali, the Tsofkrin rope walkers amaze the inhabitants of Canada, the "Lezghin" dancers subdue audiences in Europe and Asia, and the Kubachin experts received gold medals at world exhibitions.

It is pleasant for us to realize that many Dagestan people, who have completed VUZ both in our republic and in the other cities of the country, are working beyond the boundaries of our native land, worthily representing its people, its multinational culture and its science.

Thanks to the implementation of the personnel policy's Leninist principles and to the help of fraternal peoples, a headlong growth in the number of personnel in all areas of the economy and culture has occurred in Dagestan. For example, the number of our national economic specialists with a higher and secondary specialized education grew from 10,600 in 1950 to 125,000 in 1981. Of course, the work is not only in these figures which demonstrate the quantitative growth of our personnel. The main thing is in the fact that the party and the socialist society have reared a new type of worker. His distinctive features are high moral intelligence, communist purposefulness, and dedication to the interests of the Soviet people. These qualities combined with competency and a knowledge of the job permit personnel to successfully complete the critical tasks which are facing them.

The promotion of progressive, better trained and capable workers and kolkhoz farmers to directing work has enormous significance. Quite a bit has been recently done in this direction. Now, our workers and kolkhoz farmers form 42.3 percent of the members and candidate members of the raykoms and gorkoms and auditing commission members; they are 41.5 percent of the staff of party committees and primary party organization bureaus. The number of workers and kolkhoz farmers on the councils and elected trade union and Komsomol bodies has noticeably increased.

For example, let us look at the destiny of a well known oil industry worker and Hero of Socialist Labor, A. Azizov-- a Dargin. Being an oil industry worker, he was repeatedly chosen as a member of the CPSU Izberbashskiy gorkom bureau. Then he was sent to study in the party school. After completing it, he was recommended to be the secretary of Dagoblsovprof. I will not conceal the fact that quite a few apprehensions were expressed at the time: Will he cope? He coped. He is now working as the first secretary of the party's Izberbashskiy gorkom.

N. Aliyev, an Avar and the first secretary of the party's Tsuntinskiy raykom, began his working activity as a metal worker in the Makhachkalinskiy Railroad Car Depot. Next, he worked as a glass worker, an expert, a shift chief, and a senior shop expert in the Makhachkalinskiy Glass Fibre Plant. He completed the Higher Party School and the Economics Department of the university by correspondence. He showed himself to be an intelligent specialist and a good organizer in his practical work. He was chosen to be a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and was awarded the Order of Lenin. We have quite a few similar examples.

The widespread attraction of women to more active participation in the management of economic and public affairs has been and remains an important political task of the republic's party organizations. A total of 160 women in the republic now have an educational degree of doctor and candidate of science. Women form more than half of the workers and employees, they are 63 percent in the trade and service area, and more than 80 percent in the health field. One-third of the staffs of party gorkoms and raykoms are women, they are more than half of the deputies to local soviets. Women occupy the responsible positions of deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and secretary of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. A total of 42 women are working as secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, four of them are first secretaries. More than one-third of the secretaries of primary party organizations are women. Twenty mountain women have been awarded the high title of Hero of Socialist Labor for their selfless work for the good of the motherland.

These data reflect the role which the republic's women are playing in the life of society and in the development of its economy and culture. At the same time, the cited data also testify to the need for greater attention toward the work with female cadre on the part of state and public organizations.

It is necessary to admit that in the collectives where women form the overwhelming majority of workers, they are still unjustifiably rare among, for example, the directors of schools and the chief doctors of hospitals. There are especially few women among the managers of animal husbandry farms and the directors of field brigades and kolkhoz and sovkhoz departments. Guided by the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress, we are trying to involve women more actively in the management of production and public affairs. To do this, it is necessary to wage even more broadly and more effectively a struggle against relapses of past vestiges in attitudes regarding women. Unfortunately, such relapses still let themselves be known.

Questions concerning the international indoctrination of personnel are at the center of the party obkom's attention. We have accumulated certain experience in this work. It is constantly being improved and enriched. Party organizations are seeing to it that feelings of Soviet patriotism and internationalism have an active nature and are demonstrated in specific work and in the growth of creative activity. The system of party training and economic education and mass propaganda forms are being widely used for these purposes. The network of theoretical seminars, political schools and universities of people's friendship has been expanded.

In the international indoctrination of the workers, the oblast party organization has allotted a large role to the study of the Russian language as the language of international intercourse and friendship between peoples. In developing their national languages (I will point out that the written form of several of them only appeared with Soviet power), the peoples of Dagestan consider the Russian language indispensable. It has provided the peoples of Dagestan broad access to the spiritual wealth of Russian and world culture. Practically all the adult population of Dagestan has now become proficient in the Russian language. According to the all-union 1979 census, the Russian language was called the native language or a second native language which had been mastered by more than 71 percent of the republic's independent population.

The struggle against vestiges of national narrow-mindedness and egoism is a necessary component part of the work to internationally indoctrinate people. The party obkom has condemned the manifestations of patriarchal and feudal vestiges in the performance of marriages and other family and life rituals which still exist in individual rayons and cities of the republic. Several precedence displays, which were expressed in the attempts of some individuals to revive the division of people according to obsolete family and tribal signs, were subjected to sharp criticism during a plenum of the obkom.

The systematic and purposeful work of the oblast party organization to develop national relations and the international indoctrination of the workers is providing positive results. The fraternal friendship of the peoples of Dagestan with all the peoples of the USSR is growing stronger and its influence on all aspects of the republic's life is increasing in the joint struggle to implement the majestic plans of communist construction.

Our class enemies do not want to see the historic successes of the Soviet country in solving the nationality question. However, as they say among the people, the sun is not guilty of the fact that the eagle is not seen during the day. Today, nationalism is being converted into one of the main stakes of the imperialist special services in their subversive activity against real socialism.

Anticommunist propaganda is making a special bet on the fact that it is possible to revive nationalist prejudices among the mountain peoples of the North Caucasus. Thus, one of the departments of Radio Liberty is broadcasting special programs intended for the national republics of the North

Caucasus. Masking their hypocritical "interest" in the fate of the mountain people, the radio saboteurs are falsifying and distorting facts and fabricating and disseminating provocative rumors, telling them over and over again about "Soviet colonialism", thereby attempting to revive national feelings.

However, all of their attempts are futile. At the same time, we are far from being complacent. The intrigues of our enemies convince us that it is impossible to allow even the slightest weakening of political vigilance. Some time ago, the party obkom criticized individual representatives of the social sciences for retreating from class and party positions when dealing with several social phenomena and for their uncritical attitude toward evaluating the historical past of the peoples of Dagestan and individual writers and poets -- for elements of national egoism and national narrow-mindedness in their works.

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## REGIONAL

### RIGA GORKOM PLENUM ON PATRIOTIC EDUCATION

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Actively Strengthen Friendship among People's Plenum of the Riga Party Gorkom"]

[Excerpts] On 10 October a plenum was held of the Riga Gorkom of the CP of Latvia; it discussed the question "On the Tasks of the City Party Organization with regard to further Improving Patriotic and Internationalist Education in the Light of the Demands of the 26th CPSU Congress."

The plenum was opened by the first secretary of the Riga Party Gorkom, Ya. Ya. Vagris. Delivering the report was secretary of the Riga Party Gorkom, A. K. Plaude.

It was noted at the plenum that, guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the 23rd CP of Latvia Congress, the decrees of the CPSU CC "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work" and "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," the party gorkom, raykoms, primary party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations are conducting purposeful organizational and political work on mobilizing labor groups to fulfill the plan for the current year and for the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole, on affirming the ideas of friendship among the peoples, proletarian internationalism, and Soviet patriotism.

The Riga party gorkom and its departments are constantly directing the activities of the party raykoms and the primary party organizations so that the city's enterprises may ensure a good quality of the products being delivered to our fraternal republics, so that they may be reliable partners with regard to inter-republican economic ties.

It was noted at the plenum that in many labor groups such as the production associations of the VEF [Valsts Electrical Engineering Plant] imeni V. I. Lenin, "Radio-tehnika," "Al'fa," "Latrybprom," the porcelain plant, and the Latvian Steamship Company, an effectively functioning system of patriotic and internationalist education has been created.

At the same time, it was noted at the plenum that in the work of the city party and Komsomol organizations on forming within the working people a feeling of Soviet patriotism and friendship among the peoples insufficiently complete use is still being made of the possibility of ideological-political, labor, and moral education of



various categories of the population. In a number of primary party organizations a precise system of patriotic and internationalist education has not been created; public opinion is poorly studied within them, insufficient attention is paid to the struggle against manifestations of alien ideology. In certain schools and seminars questions of the party's nationality policy have been studied in an oversimplified, abstract manner, without sufficient argumentation. The party organizations and Komsomol committees of the "Rigasel'mash" Plant, the Streetcar-Trolleybus Administration, the Riga Passenger-Car Depot, the "Latstroytrans" ATP-1 Trust, the Moscow Rayon Public-Dining Trust, and several other enterprises do not manifest enough concern for the quality and effectiveness of teaching young people; they make inadequate use of political classes for forming the firm ideological convictions among their students. There are definite shortcomings in the lecture propaganda. It is necessary to eliminate certain lacunae in the work of the Komsomol gorkom, the gorono [municipal department of public education], the DOSAAF municipal committee, and the municipal committee for physical education and sports in the military-patriotic education of young people. The work of the city's individual educational institutions is insufficiently effective. The work of the cultural-educational institutions requires further improvement.

The plenum of the Riga party gorkom adopted a decree in which it set forth the specific ways to further improve patriotic and internationalist education in the light of the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Taking part in the plenum's work was the chief of the CP of Latvia CC Department of Propaganda and Education, L. E. Freyberg.

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## REGIONAL

### IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRACY IN UZBEK COMMUNIST PARTY

Tashkent KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian No 9, Sep 82 pp 64-71

[Article by M. Mustafayev, candidate of historical sciences: "The Further Development of Intraparty Democracy"]

[Text] The broader and broader extension of communist building in our country is one of the conditions for the increase in the role played by the CPSU as a political and ideological leader, the organizer and educator of the Soviet nation. The improvement of the party's management of the development of society is directly linked with the complete expansion of intraparty democracy. The resolution of all questions of the party's internal life on a consistently democratic basis is the key with the aid of which one opens up a vast expanse for the active creativity of all Communist Party members and assures smoothly operating, purposeful, effective work by each party organization and the party as a whole.

A decisive condition for the vital activity of the political party of the working class, as K. Marx and F. Engels repeatedly pointed out, is the constant and close tie that its leaders and activists have with the masses, the involvement of all Communists in matters of organization, including the working out of a policy and the carrying out of that policy. The founders of scientific communism felt that the party of the proletariat is one in which automatic leadership is alien, since that kind of leadership freezes the workers movement, ignores and stifles the creative initiative and revolutionary energy of the masses, and lowers the role of the party itself.

Under new historic conditions, on the basis of the experience of the international and Russian workers movement, V. I. Lenin creatively developed and rendered concrete the ideas of K. Marx and F. Engels concerning the new type of proletarian party, including the principles concerning intraparty democracy. He emphasized, "All the party's affairs are conducted, directly or by way of representatives, by all the members of the party on a completely equal status, without any exception; moreover, all the officials, all the administrative boards, all the party institutions are elected, accountable, and replaceable" (*Poln. sobr. soch.* [Complete Collected Works], Vol 14, p 252).

Thus, one of the typical features of intraparty democracy is the fact that the officials, administrative boards, and the party's institutions are elected. Democratism, in V. I. Lenin's definition, is the universal application of the

electoral principle (see *Poln. sobr. soch.*, Vol 9, p 166). That principle was elevated by the CPSU Rules to the level of a norm for party life. Communists, by means of elections, form all the administrative party agencies, and it is they who monitor the activities of those agencies and officials.

It should be emphasized that, while observing succession in work, strictly preserving traditions in questions of intraparty democracy, and striving to make complete use of everything that is the best and the most beneficial that practical life has provided during the previous period, the party at the same time soberly takes into consideration also the specific situation, the changes that are occurring in society.

There has been an increase in the number of Communists who are elected to administrative party agencies. For example, at the 10th Communist Party of Uzbekistan (CPU) Congress (March 1949, 84 persons were elected as members of the Central Committee and 37 as candidate members of the Central Committee; at the 20th Congress (February 1981) 117 and 85 persons, respectively, were elected. The same situation is observed in the makeup of the party's oblast, city, and rayon committee in the CPU, to which many ordinary Communists have been elected. Tens of thousands of representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intellectual class are members of party committees in primary party organizations. All this contributes to the further increase in the role and authority of the party committees, and reinforces their ties with the masses.

One of the very important requirements of intraparty democracy is the requirement that the party agencies give regular reports to the party organizations. This requirement guarantees the active participation of the Communists in the resolution of the most important questions of party life, in the formation of the administrative party agencies.

The successive carrying out of intraparty democracy was linked by V. I. Lenin with the existence in the party of a smoothly operating system of information and of broad publicity. He repeatedly pointed out that the administrative agencies must have in front of them a complete picture of the activities of the local organizations. The strength of the center, V. I. Lenin emphasized, lies "in the fact that it is informed about all the wheels, large and small, in the party machine" (*Poln. sobr. soch.*, Vol 7, p 22).

Attaching great importance to the reinforcement of this principle, the CPSU and its Central Committee constantly orient the local agencies toward the complete improvement of the intraparty information system in the spirit of Lenin's requirements. That has found its expression in a number of partywide documents, in the statements made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other party leaders. In the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress, General Secretary of the Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "An indispensable element in the party's democratic life is intraparty information. The CPSU Central Committee has broadly and promptly informed the local party agencies and Communists about questions of domestic and foreign policy, and organizing and ideological work. Simultaneously the CPSU Central Committee and all the party committees began to use more actively the information of the primary party organizations. That information helps to take into consideration public opinion and to obtain a more concrete idea of the state of affairs locally."

Guided by the instructions of V. I. Lenin and the CPSU Central Committee, the CPU Central Committee has been steadily improving this important trend in party activity. Statements that are of great importance are the ones made to the party activists, Communists, and workers by secretaries of the CPUz Central Committee, the party's oblast, city, and rayon committees, the members of party committees, and ministers on the vitally important problems of economic and cultural building, and domestic and international life. After the 26th CPSU Congress and the 20th CPUz Congress, almost all the administrative party and Soviet workers in the republic gave reports that were devoted to the results of the congresses, at meetings of activists, plenums of party committees, and workers' meetings. The usefulness of these measures was expressed primarily in the fact that the Communists expressed a large number of valuable recommendations that were aimed at the successful carrying out of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Our party asks the nation for its advice on the most important, fundamental questions. Before the 26th CPSU Congress, for example, there was broad discussion of the draft version of the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Until 1990. In the course of the nationwide discussion, valuable amendments and corrections were made, thus enriching that important document.

Newspapers regularly report measures being taken by party agencies for the correction of shortcomings that have been revealed, and they publish the replies from organizations whose activities have been subjected to criticism.

The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized, "Workers' letters and recommendations are of tremendous importance as a channel for lively contact between the party and the masses. Utterly devoted to the party, the workers turn to it with a completely open heart when dealing with the most vital questions of social life, labor, and everyday affairs, frankly sharing their views and concerns and criticizing the shortcomings that exist."

The party and Soviet agencies, to an ever-increasing extent, take into consideration and implement the recommendations and desires of Communist Party members and non-party members, as expressed at meetings and in letters. The most important ones are taken into consideration by the CPSU Central Committee when decisions dealing with particular questions are being made.

During recent years, work with the workers' letters has been typified by a greater and greater amount of precision, timeliness, and efficiency. As was noted in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee receives 1500 letters daily. Attaching great importance to the work with those letters and the timely reaction to them, the Central Committee created a Letters Department as part of its apparatus.

Intraparty democracy has the goal of creating all the conditions for the fruitful application of the efforts and capabilities of every party member, the involvement of every member in the elaboration and carrying out of the party line. And that is achieved first of all by means of the improvement in the work of the primary party organizations, which are the basis of the party. They operate wherever the immediate process of creation is under way, wherever the experience of the masses

is being accumulated and is enriching the party, and wherever the workers are being organized to implement the party's policy.

As was pointed out by the 26th CPSU Congress, at the present time the party has 414,000 primary party organizations, 457,000 shop party organizations, and more than 618,000 party groups. The Central Committee is striving to achieve the maximum participation of these links, and requires the local party agencies to show constant attention to them.

In our republic during recent years there have been substantial changes in the structure of the primary party organizations. A role of no small importance in this regard was played by the mighty upsurge in the national economy of Uzbekistan. For example, the creation of production associations in many instances resulted in the expansion of the makeup of the party committees, the formation of councils of secretaries of party organizations. Purposeful work was carried out to reinforce the makeup of the party group organizers, secretaries, and committee and bureau members in the shop and primary party organizations. These party links currently have more than 150,000 of the most respected Communists -- good organizers, people with a high sense of duty, people who enjoy a large amount of respect in the labor collectives. As a result of the increase in the network of party organizations there has been an increase in the number of party committees and bureaus, and, consequently, the number of Communists who take direct part in the activities of the elected joint agencies and the party organizations as a whole.

In the constant improvement of the forms and methods of party leadership, in the development of intraparty democracy, an important role is played by the study, generalization, and dissemination of the positive experience in the activities of the party organizations and their administrative agencies. Methodology centers and study labs for party-organizational work have been created under many party committees. These centers and labs participate actively in the conducting of seminars and conferences on various questions of party life. The experience in the activities of the party organizations is broadly illumined in the press and over the radio and television. There has been an increase in the amount of literature published on party building.

The development of intraparty democracy is inconceivable without criticism and self-criticism. V. I. Lenin taught, ". . . Self-criticism is unconditionally necessary for every living and vital party" (*Poln. sobr. soch.*, Vol 10, p 355). "It is the duty of Communists," he emphasized, "not to remain silent about the weaknesses in one's movement, but rather to criticize them openly, in order to get rid of them more rapidly and more radically" (*Poln. sobr., soch.*, Vol 41, p 184).

Criticism which is objective, well argued, fundamental, but at the same time tactful is a reliable means for combatting shortcomings, mistakes, miscalculations, and violations of the norms of party life, and combatting everything that hinders the party's development on the basis of genuine democratism. It is a very important instrument for combatting the old. It is one of the forms of the conscious, active participation of Communists in party affairs. V. I. Lenin taught, "If we are not afraid to admit our mistakes, if we are not afraid of the constant labor that will be required to correct them, we shall be at the very summit" (*Poln. sobr. soch.*, Vol 44, p 423).

Criticism and self-criticism are the Communist's right and duty, which are firmly established in the CPSU Rules. We do not have and cannot have any people who are fenced off from the critical word and who thus are beyond the supervision of the masses.

At the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reemphasized the importance of this work, stating "The instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress stimulated the further extension of criticism and self-criticism in the party. It is necessary to continue to take all steps to deepen that positive tendency, to confirm in all party organizations the spirit of self-criticism and of intolerance of shortcomings."

The high level of efficient, fundamental criticism characterized the work of the 20th CPUz Congress, the oblast, city, and rayon party conferences, and the subsequent plenums of the Central Committee and the party committees. They analyzed thoroughly the state of affairs in the republic, the oblasts, cities, and rayons, revealed the shortcomings in the management of economic and cultural building, and set down steps to resolve the new tasks.

One can cite as brilliant examples the 5th (April 1982) and 6th (June 1982) Plenums of the CPUz Central Committee, which considered the very important questions "The Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization in Fulfilling the Instructions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, As Mentioned in Statements During the Awarding of the Order of Lenin to Uzbek SSR and at a Discussion at the CPUz Central Committee" and "The Results of the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization Which Evolve from the Report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev Entitled 'The USSR Food Program for the Period Until 1990 and Steps to Implement It.'"

An important role in the consistent observation of the principles of intraparty democracy is played by the party apparatus. Through it the CPSU implements the decisions of the joint agencies and the will of the Communists, and receives information concerning the needs and wants of the party members and the state of affairs in the outlying areas. The manner in which the party apparatus and the Communists, and all the workers are operating can, to no small degree, help one to judge the party democracy.

The CPUz Central Committee constantly carries out work to improve the structure and activities of the party apparatus, and this makes it possible to achieve a steady intensification of the party influence in all the most important work sectors.

One of the convincing manifestations of party democracy is the solid confirmation of the Leninist principles of working with cadres, when trust and respect for people combine with high demandingness toward them. This creates an efficient, creative situation in the party organizations and their administrative agencies and makes it possible for every Communist to reveal his capabilities more completely.

At the present time all the secretaries of the party's oblast committees and the chairmen of the oblast executive committees in the republic have higher education. More than 70 percent of them are specialists in the national economy. There has been an improvement in the qualitative makeup of the first secretaries of the

party's city and rayon committees and the chairmen of the executive committees of the city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies. The number of specialists among the administrators of enterprises in industry, transportation, communication and construction, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan increased by 20 percent.

The successful activity of the administrative personnel depends to a large degree upon their ideological tempering, theoretical training, and the thorough understanding of advanced experience. It is significant that almost 35 percent of the administrators of party and Soviet agencies, in addition to special education, also have party-political education. Between the 19th and 20th CPSU Congresses, the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee and the Tashkent Higher Party School graduated 600 persons. Measures which have proved their value are the republic-level seminars of secretaries of party city and rayon committees and of primary party organizations, and instruction at nationwide and interrepublic refresher courses.

The Central Committee and the oblast, city, and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan have a large number of visitors every day. They come to ask for instructions and advice, to share their ideas, and to make recommendations. And all the visitors receive a kindly, efficient reception.

A special place in Leninist theory concerning the party is occupied by the principle of the collective nature of leadership. That principle is dictated by the requirements of democratic centralism and evolves from the very nature of the Communist Party, which has been called upon to be the political leader, organizer, and educator of the working masses. "The organizing of the revolutionary forces," V. I. Lenin wrote, "the disciplining of them and the development of revolutionary technology are impossible without the discussion of all these questions in a central agency, without the collective elaboration of certain forms and rules for conducting the affair. . ." (*Poln. sobr. soch.*, Vol 4, p 191).

The collective nature of leadership means first of all that all the most important, fundamental questions of party life are resolved on the basis of the joint discussion of them by members of the particular organization or by the elected representatives of the organizations. The collective nature manifests itself not only and not so much in sessions and meetings, as in persistent, well-coordinated, joint work by the party committee, activists, and all the Communists to implement the assigned plans and the party's policy. The principle of the collective nature of leadership is firmly established in the CPSU Program and Rules.

Guided by Lenin's instructions and creatively applying them, the party unceasingly increases the role played by the collective agencies. The reinforcement of the principle of collective action manifested itself first of all in the fact that there has been a considerable increase in the role played by the CPSU congresses.

Every congress is an outstanding event in the life of the party and the entire Soviet nation and reflect an entire historical period that has been traveled by the country under the guidance of the CPSU. The congress defines the party's policy and sets down tasks for communist building and ways to execute them. The congress decisions, being the expression of the will of the entire party, and

its collective experience, are mandatory for all party organizations. At the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "The highest expression of the guiding role of the CPSU is the party congresses, which, as it were, lay down the general itinerary for the successive movement of Soviet society."

An inseparable part of the preparatory work for the next congress is the listening to reports and the holding of elections in all party organizations, from bottom to top. The participants in the meetings to hear reports and hold elections, and the delegates to the rayon, city, and oblast party conferences and the congresses of the Communist Parties of the union republics evaluate completely and collectively what has been achieved, reveal the shortcomings, set down ways to eliminate them, and define the direction that the work should take in the future.

Questions of preparing for and conducting the congresses are always resolved ahead of time at sessions of the bureaus and at Central Committee plenums. The draft versions of the documents that will be submitted for consideration at the forthcoming congress are previously published in the press and become the object of broad discussion.

During the period between congresses, the highest administrative agency of the party is the Central Committee. V. I. Lenin emphasized the important role of the Central Committee in the life of the Communist Party, pointing out that the party can achieve victory and defend the gains of the proletarian revolution and successfully carry out the leadership of the country, with the proviso that "its party center is an authoritative agency with broad powers, an agency that enjoys the universal trust of the party members" (*Poln. sobr. soch.*, Vol 41, p 209).

The Central Committee is the combat headquarters of the CPSU, its ideological-political and organizational center. The tremendous amount of political experience, the collective wisdom of the Leninist Central Committee, which relies upon Marxist-Leninist theory, the decisions of the congresses, and the party's Program and Rules, guarantee the correct leadership of the party and the country, the monolithic unity of the party's ranks, and the successful carrying out of the tasks of communist building.

Represented in the Central Committee are the best, the most authoritative Communists, who are employed in various sectors of party, state, and social life, in industry, agriculture, and the sphere of science and culture. The makeup of the Central Committee, as a result of the increase in the number of members in the party and the increased complexity of its tasks, has been expanding regularly.

Following Lenin's behests, the Central Committee thoroughly studies the phenomena of life, precisely evaluates the situation that has developed, and, on a strictly scientific basis, develops a political line. As it creatively develops Marxist-Leninist theory, it enriches that theory with the experience of millions.

The reinforcement of intraparty democracy manifested itself first of all in the new and considerable increase in the role played by the plenums of party committees. In the overwhelming majority of party organizations they are convoked at the expiration of time periods that are stipulated by the Rules. The questions brought up for discussion are the most important ones, which pertain to the fundamental



aspects of the development of the economy, social relations, and culture, and questions dealing with party-organizational work and intraparty democracy are regularly raised.

During the period between the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses, eleven plenums of the party's Central Committee were held. They completely discussed the very important state, economic, and social problems, and questions of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The Politburo of the party's Central Committee held 236 sessions, which considered the most important, most vital questions of the party's domestic and foreign policy. The Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee held 250 sessions.

The CPUz Central Committee is operating actively and creatively, keeping up with the Leninist Central Committee of the CPSU, the activities of which serve as an example of the consistent carrying out of the principle of collective leadership. Between the 19th and 20th Congresses of the CPUz, 19 plenums of the Central Committee, 143 Bureau sessions, and 115 Secretariat sessions were held. Many Central Committee members and candidate members, and members of the CPUz Auditing Committee participated in oblast, city, and rayon party conferences and meetings of Communists in primary party organizations; were involved in the preparation of questions for presentation at plenums and sessions of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee and in the checking of the execution of the decisions that were made; and carried out a large amount of political work among the masses.

The Leninist principle of collective leadership is carried out more fully when the party agencies seek the advice on fundamental problems of the activists and specialists, and when they develop the initiative of all the Communists in the resolution of the economic and political tasks. Taking this into consideration, the party committees attach a large amount of importance to activist meetings. Between the 19th and 20th CPUz Congresses, there were 30 meetings of party and party-economic activists, which thoroughly discussed the vitally important questions and set down steps to improve the situation in the specific work sectors. Experience indicates that the careful preparation of such meetings contributes to an increase in the activity rate of the Communists.

The collective nature of party leadership is also assured by the efficient use of the elected activists. The makeup of the party agencies at the oblast, city, rayon, and primary party organizations is steadily expanding, and is being involved not only in the development and making of collective decisions, but also in the organizing of their execution. Every fourth Communist in the republic is currently engaged in elective party work. In order to increase the role and responsibility of the elected activists, the party committees involve them in the preparation of the plenums, and in their everyday affairs, assigning them to definite party organizations for the purpose of improving various aspects of their activities.

A tremendous role in carrying out the principle of collective leadership belongs to the party meetings. The pregress campaign to hear reports and hold elections demonstrated with renewed force the indissoluble unity of the party ranks, the warm approval by the Communists of the party's domestic and foreign policy and the fruitful activities of the CPSU Central Committee. That campaign was held in an atmosphere of high activity. Ninety-six percent of the Communists participated in

the meetings to hear reports and hold elections at the primary and shop party organizations and party groups, and approximately 9 million persons spoke during the discussion period. The content of those statements attests to the sense of responsibility borne by the Communists for their work and for everything that is being done in the party and in the country.

The collective nature of party leadership at the same time presupposes a personal responsibility for the assigned job. "In any case and under absolutely all circumstances," V. I. Lenin wrote, "collective action must be accompanied by the most precise establishment of the personal responsibility borne by every person for the job that has been precisely defined for him. Irresponsibility that is covered over by references to collective action is the most dangerous evil. . ." (*Poln. sobr. soch.*, Vol 39, p 46).

Proceeding from Leninist principles and taking into consideration the requirements of life, the party committees regularly consider the questions of reinforcing the personal responsibility for the assigned job, and the unconditional execution of the directives issued by the party and the government. The steady increase in the responsibility borne by every Communist was also mentioned at the 26th CPSU Congress and the 20th CPUZ Congress.

Experience shows us that it is only on the basis of collective leadership that one can skillful direct and develop the creative initiative of the party organizations and all the workers, correctly analyze the situation, and objectively evaluate the results of the work. The collective nature of the decisions and actions give the party leadership great strength, make it possible to unite the talents and experience of many persons, and guarantee the party agencies and their administrators against arbitrary actions and onesidedness.

As a whole the success of the party's activities among the masses depends to a decisive degree upon the degree of participation with which its own forces act, the degree to which every party member takes part in the material-production activities and social life not only as a selfless warrior for the fulfillment of the program that has been set down, but also as an organizer and leader of the masses in all spheres of the creation of a new society.

At the present time a tremendous amount of importance is being attached to the job of increasing the vanguard role of the Communists in the party organization of our republic. This question is being discussed at party meetings, plenums of the party committees, and seminars. In February 1982 a seminar of first secretaries of the city and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan was held in Tashkent. Setting down the steps and developing the recommendations, the party committees are guided by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "The Work of the Samarkand Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan in Fulfilling the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress With Regard to Increasing the Vanguard Role of Communists and Developing Their Rate of Participation in the Production and Social Life."

The organizing of the life of the CPSU on the basis of Leninist norms and principles and the increasingly broad extension of intraparty democracy contributes to the further reinforcement of the party and to the successful carrying out by it of its role as the guiding and directing force of Soviet society.

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